# The Nation

Vol. CV NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1917 No. 2736

## The Week

THE safe arrival of another contingent of our troops in France gives us further reason for congratulation on the excellent work of our transport service. Thousands of troops and tons of material moved and not a soldier, and apparently not a ton of supplies, lost, constitute a remarkable record and show conclusively that U-boats can be completely foiled if enough precautions be taken. That similar success in protecting our merchant ships and those of England has not attended the efforts of the English and American navies must be ascribed to the fact that there simply are not war vessels enough to convoy and protect them all. The achievement recorded not only furnishes ample evidence that we can continue to move troops and supplies three thousand miles across the seas without fear of appreciable loss, but also indicates a very bright future for the Anglo-American campaign, generally, against the submarine danger. What can be done absolutely for a limited number of vessels will, with expansion of shipbuilding, eventually be done for the great mass of cargo carriers.

THE "Fatherland party" in Germany has laid before the Reichstag a memorial protesting against a general truce. The reason given is that it "would work to the advantage of England." Now, the Fatherland party is made up of the high and mighty imperialists and militarists of Germany. It was founded and is backed by men like the grim von Tirpitz, whose motto is to demand everything and yield nothing. They were alarmed at the conciliatory tendencies of Bethmann-Hollweg, and attacked, as they are still attacking, the resolution of the Reichstag declaring for peace without annexations or indemnities. That resolution, they assert in their memorial, is "no longer consonant with the present situation." It is, then, this group of fire-eating extremists in Germany that opposes the Government in the matter of an armistice on the ground that it would benefit the enemy. There is no denying that Germany has furnished more than excuse enough for universal skepticism. The fact remains, however, that we cannot refuse even to consider news from Germany. It is our business to test it, to see if it squares with known facts, and is in accord with the general verdicts of human reason; but if we find it meeting the standards of credibility, then we are bound to believe it and act upon it. In the present instance the task is easy, for it requires only a slight examination of the precedents and rules relating to an armistice to show that the Fatherland party is, from its own point of view, quite right. A general armistice, such as the Russian acting Government is proposing, might in actual fact be disadvantageous to Germany. It would be so if the suspension of military and naval operations for, say, two or three months were not followed by a peace, but by a renewal of the fighting.

THE great reason for this is that an armistice *does not lift a blockade*. It suspends military operations. The troops must not undertake any aggressive action. But the holding of the existing lines is contemplated, and the line held by a blockading navy is kept intact, and can no more be passed through by the enemy than can the front of the army. The leading historic example is the armistice in the Crimean War. It was signed February 25, 1856, and provided that the troops on both sides should retain their positions and undertake no offensive. But it also agreed that "the blockades were not to be affected thereby, though no act of hostility was to be committed by the naval forces." It needs no arguing that an armistice of that kind, with war to be resumed afterwards, would be seriously injurious to the German cause. The German submarines would have to be called off. Yet no merchant vessels could get through the blockade to carry supplies to German ports! All that Germany might do, pending the armistice, to strengthen and equip her forces for the event of a resumption of hostilities, would be outdone by England and the United States in the interval. The matter is too plain for dispute. A general armistice, along the accepted lines, would almost surely work out to the advantage of Germany's enemies. Yet we do not ourselves imagine that any armistice of that kind can be or will be concluded. Neither side will go into it blindfold. If hostilities are suspended, it will be only in the expectation of a peace conference, and only after the chief terms of peace have been unofficially agreed upon. The German Foreign Secretary was correct in stating that peace congresses have usually known in advance what conditions would be assented to by one side and the other. He intimated that there are ways of finding out now. Possibly some light will be given by the negotiations between the German authorities and the Bolsheviki. This affair is not so simple for the German Government as it might seem. Lenine and Trotzky are putting blunt questions to the German authorities. Will they agree to the Russian formula of peace without annexations or indemnities? If not—if too much is demanded—the Russian Revolutionists may go back to start a sort of infuriated crusade against autocratic Germany. Even if an agreement could be reached as regards the Russian frontier, that would not meet the stipulation of the Bolsheviki—the stipulation also of Austria—that the armistice shall be declared on all fronts. That could be done only by consent of all the other belligerents; and there is no possibility that it will be given unless some understanding is reached running far beyond an armistice.

THE brief abstract of the treaty by which Italy was brought into the war, published by Lord Northcliffe on Friday, shows that Italy demanded a high price. It included not only the Trentino and all of Dalmatia, but Istria and certain Greek islands as well—a handsome price for serving democracy and combating German militarism, and one in shining contrast with the entirely unselfish spirit with which the American people entered this war under Mr. Wilson's leadership. Unfortunately, these territorial advantages offered to Italy were not based on ethnological or historical reasons, and their acquisition by Italy would inevitably mean further dissatisfaction and unrest—addi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tional grievances making for future wars. But most interesting of all is Article 15 of the treaty, which reads as follows:

> France, Great Britain, and Russia take upon themselves to support Italy in her disallowing representatives of the Holy See to take any diplomatic steps for the conclusion of peace or regarding matters pertaining to the present war.

From this it appears that France and Great Britain must have been delighted to have President Wilson answer the Pope's note for them, since they were pledged in advance to disregard the Pope's appeal for peace, no matter how just or helpful or well advised.

THE Government might be thought already to have a sufficiently firm grasp of all trade affecting America. It controls all our exports, it exercises under the Trading with the Enemy act the closest supervision over commerce of even indirect benefit to Germany, and its system of bunker licensing gives it practical authority over neutral or Allied vessels making long voyages to touch at our ports. Yet now there comes a Presidential order for a licensing system controlling imports. The first list of articles placed under Federal authority is somewhat curious. Of a half-dozen of the bulkiest of our imports it includes sugar, but not coffee, and nickel ore, but not iron, copper, or sulphur ore. The system can be used to stop the importation of luxuries in place of necessities, but that cannot be the leading motive. Its principal utility will be in legitimate warfare against firms in neutral lands having a certain German complexion, and in bringing legitimate pressure upon the many neutrals that value highly their export trade to America. Lands which have it in their power to do us favors or disfavors will have a new motive for choosing the former.

AS in so many other lines of industry, so in the railway industry, it is highly advisable to preserve cool and sane judgment while discussing the various emergency expedients adopted or proposed because of war conditions. In particular, talk of the danger or desirability of Government ownership of the railways appears to us much beside the point. Intervention of the Government in the matter of distributing and handling railway freight was a necessity of the situation. But the necessity would not be met by actual public ownership, even supposing such a thing to be possible under existing circumstances; and only the wildest imagination would conceive of the Government incurring the prodigious financial burden which would be involved, on top of its other burdens. So far as subsequent legislation is concerned, the experience of the day has pointed to Federal charters of the railways more than anything else, and to more elastic procedure in the matter of determining changes in rates. But to argue, as we observe is occasionally done, that the Interstate Commerce act ought itself to be repealed out-of-hand and for all time, is to descend to nonsense.

SUCH proposals ignore in most extraordinary fashion what the Interstate act has accomplished in the way of putting an end to the desperate wars of competitive rate-cutting which, under the previous era of unrestricted rate-making, had reduced the managements to despair. The New York *Times* tells us that "the troubles of the railways have been progressive ever since the Supreme Court in the 90's overruled the lower Court's decision that railways were not subject to the Sherman law." Now, without arguing for the moment the question whether that law was always wisely applied in the case of the railways, and ignoring equally the danger which that law averted, of perpetual control of competing railways by groups of men who did not own them, what may we say of the subsequent history? The Trans-Missouri Association decision was handed down in March, 1897. At that date, one-fourth of the country's railway capitalization was just emerging from receivers' hands. What happened in the ensuing decade, when it seemed as if home and foreign capital were buying into the properties at any price, can scarcely have been forgotten. In 1897, not quite 30 per cent. of outstanding railway stock was paying dividends; in 1913, despite an immense increase of stock issues, 66 per cent. of the whole was on the dividend-paying list; and meantime the average rate on dividend-paying stock had risen from 5.43 per cent. to 7.97. Few well-informed people deny the need of some changes in public policy towards the roads. But let us not misrepresent history.

THE healing hand of the American Red Cross is felt in all of the nations leagued against Germany, but felt most of all in France. The first semi-annual report of the War Council shows that up to November 1 the total appropriations for expenditure in that stricken country reached $20,600,000, comprehending great sums for civil relief as well as military work with the Allied and American troops, and that the plans for expenditures up to May 1 next call for a total of $40,000,000. England, Russia, Rumania, and the Armenians and Syrians have received more than a million each, which with smaller expenditures elsewhere carries the total in Europe and Asia outside France above $7,250,000. The expenditures made in the United States, amounting to about $11,000,000, and the costs of administration bring the grand total already to nearly half of the $88,000,000 collected, and explain the warning of the Red Cross that before May it will be necessary to call upon the nation for a generous replenishing of resources. The membership of 5,000,000 which the Red Cross now boasts should materially assist in the campaign for more money, and help make reduplication of the fund of $100,000,000 obtained last summer easily possible. The report gives the clearest evidence of carefulness and good judgment in the work done under Mr. Davison and his associates.

WITH the need of saving coal greater than ever, advocates of the Daylight Saving bill, which passed the Senate last summer but was blocked in the House, are preparing to make every effort to obtain its enactment this winter. The weight of argument behind it is fairly overwhelming. Twelve European countries, including England, France, Italy, Germany, Austria, Denmark, Holland, and Sweden, with Australia, have adopted a similar measure; and England alone computes her saving in coal at 300,000 tons. The development of small-scale gardening or farming, the promotion of outdoor recreation, the more natural day, are all reasons for the innovation, and it is not believed that even those countries which undertook it purely as a war-economy measure will return to the old uniformity in summer and winter hours. The measure has been endorsed by President Wilson, by the whole Cabi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

net, by the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defence, by the American Federation of Labor, and by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

IN one detail, the initiative and referendum amendment adopted by the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention for submission to the voters next autumn is more radical than that adopted by any other State: it requires only 15,000 signatures to compel a referendum upon a law, 20,000 to initiate a law, and 25,000 to initiate a Constitutional amendment. Most States that have direct legislation require the signatures, not of an absolute number of the voters, but of a percentage of them. The smallest percentage so required is 5. Even radical Oregon requires 8 per cent. for Constitutional amendments. But conservative Massachusetts is proposing to demand the signatures of at most 5 per cent. of her present voters, and as they increase, the percentage, of course, will drop. An offset to this low percentage is the requirement that not more than one-fourth of the signatures may be obtained in any one county. But the great check upon hasty Constitutional changes lies in the provision that an initiated amendment must be subsequently passed by two Legislatures. This provision distinguishes Massachusetts from other States having "direct" government. In addition, several matters are excluded from the initiative on Constitutional amendments. These include measures relating to "religion, religious practices, or religious institutions," while the independence of the judiciary is carefully guarded by excluding from the operation of the initiative any measure relating to "the appointment, qualification, tenure, removal, recall, or compensation of judges; or to the reversal of a judicial decision; or to the powers, creation, or abolition of courts." The Convention, having thus disposed of the most discussed subject before it, will meet to finish its work next summer, after which the initiative and referendum amendment will probably be the central issue of a lively campaign.

GOV. McCALL'S letter to the Governor of West Virginia in its complete form is a notable state document, being nothing less than a classic upon the subject of justice to the weak. It is as strong upon the particular considerations that influenced Gov. McCall to refuse to extradite the negro Johnson as it is upon the great principles concerned. The charge that a threat was made by the representative of West Virginia that if Johnson opposed his return, he was likely to have his "neck stretched," Gov. McCall declares, "imposed upon us a new responsibility for a careful and vigilant investigation," an investigation that resulted in "unequivocal" advice against the return. Gov. McCall also points out that "failure to honor a requisition is no new thing, nor does it constitute any affront to a State," adding: "We welcome any just criticism by the authorities of other States as tending to improve the quality of our jurisprudence." But his great service is in placing this case in its proper perspective by centring attention upon the real issue at stake:

> Contempt of the law does not concern the black race alone, but it profoundly affects all our people. It has shown itself in one State with great ferocity against the Jews; in another State against the Italians; in another against the Chinese; in still another against those who come from Japan; and there is no important race in our population whose members have not been made the victims of its vengeance.

It was Gov. McCall who made a thought-provoking revision of a popular phrase by suggesting that democracy should be made safe for the world. He is as happy and as forceful in almost his last sentence in this letter: "When we are nobly contending to make the world safe for democracy, she [West Virginia] can help us show our spiritual fitness for the task by leading the way to make America safe for common justice."

THE sketch of the life of William E. Chandler in "Who's Who," viséd, of course, by himself, is silent upon the years between 1867 and 1881. Yet his most powerful stroke was his prompt action on the night of the election of 1876, when, hearing from a newspaper friend how the returns looked, he telegraphed Republican leaders in Florida and Louisiana not to be in a hurry about conceding those States to Tilden. At that time he held no political position, having resigned as secretary of the Republican Committee before the campaign, but he had taken an active part in the canvass, was well known, and had come to New York to hear the result. It might have been possible to seat Hayes in any case, but Chandler's strategic move was unquestionably of enormous importance in facilitating that perilous operation. His services in creating what used to be called the "new navy" are less familiar, the credit for that development usually being given to the late William C. Whitney. He was a picturesque rather than an altogether admirable figure, more representative of old-time than of present politics, and a proof, along with Zachariah Chandler of Michigan, Jerry Simpson, of Kansas, and Tillman, of South Carolina, that one may live almost anywhere in this country and yet make oneself the cynosure of all eyes.

THE private conversation of great men is always a fascinating subject of speculation. Who would not have given his old shoes to be able to hide in a closet and listen to Gladstone talking to James Russell Lowell? Fancy getting a first-hand account of what Lincoln actually said to Lord Hartington, or President Roosevelt to E. H. Harriman. But all such interviews are cast into the shade by the hour and a half which Judge Hylan last week spent in the sole company of Charles F. Murphy. What interchanges of wit must have taken place! So charmed was Judge Hylan with the interview that he was unaware how the minutes slipped away, with the reporters anxiously waiting beyond the closed door. "With thee conversing, I forget all time," he must have murmured apologetically to the departing Tammany boss. The two men displayed the most delicate consideration for each other. When Murphy came out he was mum to the newspaper men. He could not say what had been talked about. As well expect him to repeat what President Wilson said to him at his single interview in the White House. The high courtesy of perfect confidence must be observed between Murphy and the Mayor-elect. If anything at all was to be revealed, said the Tammany chief, it must be by "the man inside." But this phrase seemed a little later slightly jarring to the fine sensibilities of Murphy. So he telephoned to the reporters to say that he meant no shade of disrespect to Judge Hylan, and really intended to say "the Mayor inside." The punctiliousness of a high-bred gentleman demanded no less of him. Besides, if there is to be a break between Tammany and the next Mayor, it is best to defer even the appearance of such a misfortune for good government.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# War Aims, Again

LORD LANSDOWNE'S demand that the Allies state publicly the terms on which they are willing to make peace contains little or nothing that is new. His specific proposals have all been made before. They scarcely vary from what Mr. Asquith has repeatedly said. Lansdowne's suggestion that the Allies should even profess a willingness to "examine . . . a group of international problems, some of them of recent origin, which are connected with the question of the freedom of the seas," goes no further than Sir Edward Grey did when he was Foreign Secretary. The real significance of Lord Lansdowne's letter, which was the sensation of the day in London, lies in the man himself and the hour at which he speaks out. For he is of the very type of stern and unbending Tories. His long and distinguished official career gives him the ear of the public as few men not now in the Government could have it. He is no pacifist, no timorous weakling. During the time of the Coalition Cabinet formed by Mr. Asquith, he was the spokesman of the Government in the House of Lords, and was then, as he has since been, a thorough-going believer in the war and its ardent supporter. Indeed, in the critical days of August, 1914, Lord Lansdowne was one of the Conservative leaders who privately informed the Liberal Prime Minister that they would support him if he declared war on Germany, with the plain intimation that they would attack him if he did not. Such then is the British statesman, with such a record behind him, who now urges the nations at war with Germany to state their aims frankly for the purpose of discovering whether they are not able to [illegible] what President Wilson called a "covenant of peace."

It should be noted that Lord Lansdowne [illegible] the chief [illegible] on which might seem secondary matters. No purpose [illegible] Germany out as a great Power; no imposition of a [illegible] upon her people; no economic war after the war; international agreements for safeguarding peace. All these ideas have been expressed by President Wilson, since the United States entered the war. And if any one thinks they are subordinate details, let him recall what the German press and the German Government have been saying. They have pictured the Allies as bent on annihilating Germany, as determined to destroy her commerce after the war and to shut her out of the markets of the world. These fears may be unfounded. Certainly, Mr. Wilson did his best to dissipate them. It is, of course, possible that the militarist party in Germany exaggerated all this in order to deceive the people and induce them to keep up the struggle. But if that is so, what better strategy could the Allies pursue than to repudiate these alleged war aims of theirs, and to make clear their real aims?

On the main points there is no thought in Lord Lansdowne's mind of abatement or surrender. Belgium, and the reparation due her, he still puts "in the front rank." This is the irreducible minimum for all in the war against Germany. Until her Government gives explicit and binding assurances on that point, there can be no peace. Bethmann-Hollweg appeared to be nearly ready to speak the needed word and give the needed guarantees. The Reichstag resolution of last July looked that way distinctly. Just at present, unfortunately, as the Swedish delegate to Berlin recently reported, the Pan-Germans and the annexationists appear to be temporarily in the saddle. The *culbute générale* in Russia and the Italian victories have given them new hope. This was reflected in the speech of the new Chancellor, which was largely a defiant glorification of German military prowess. The other things are, however, tacit in von Hertling's remark that Germany and her allies stand by their answer to the Pope, in which they favored disarmament. This must receive sharp prominence in any restatement of the war aims of the Allies. For in the final abandonment of the militarist system will be the severest punishment of wicked militarists. Rapacious militarism—the kind which still talks of making Germany rich and great by unscrupulous war, and reckons up its "booty" in Italy in terms of millions of marks—must be permanently defeated, if this world is to remain a fit place for civilized men.

# Our Big Shipping Plans

AMERICANS remember as one of their proudest maritime boasts that in 1861 our total tonnage—river, lake, and coastwise ships included—was only a half-million tons behind the total tonnage of Great Britain and her dependencies; and that our deep-water tonnage, which amounted to half the entire 5,300,000 tons, carried about 70 per cent. of our exports and imports. How many realize now that when the present shipbuilding programme is completed we shall again be pressing close upon Great Britain, and should be able again to care for nearly all our trade in our own vessels? Our latest information from the Shipping Board presents in graphic form a sea-programme never before approached in ambition. The United States merchant marine now includes about 400 vessels of over 1,500 deadweight tons, aggregating about 2,900,000 tons in, or capable of being in, the foreign trade. Of this about 700,000 tons represent German or Austrian vessels. The Board has further let contracts for 884 new vessels, aggregating roughly 4,750,000 tons; has requisitioned 426 vessels building on the ways of over 3,000,000 tons; and has contracts pending for about 100 other vessels of 610,000 tons. The total is between 11,000,000 and 11,500,000 tons; and if we add to this the American tonnage not used or usable on the high seas, we shall have a marine not far from the total British marine, and one amply able to take care of such a commerce (about 25,000,000 tons) as we had before the war.

To carry through this programme by the end of 1918 or soon after demands that the United States build more than ten times as many vessels as it ever built before in the same time, three times as many as Great Britain ever built, nearly twice as many as the whole world. It is natural men should doubt that it can be done. Can we turn out enough steel? An authoritative Pittsburgh source tells us that the continuous and heavy increase in steel materials required is already being obtained. Last year the average monthly output increased from about 55,000 tons to about 65,000, thus far in the present year it has risen to about 200,000 tons monthly, in the next four months it is expected to reach an average of 250,000 tons, and it is hoped to reach 500,000 tons by next March. Can we obtain enough wood? The composite and wooden ships will require in the year nearly 400,000,000 feet of Southern yellow pine timber alone, and another 100,000,000 feet for docks, ways, etc. The output has been rather short of 600,000 feet a day, or about half of what is required,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but it is rising by leaps and bounds, and Southern timber men are confident it can be brought to the mark. Remarkable stories are told of the speed with which great sawmills have been brought into play. Can we get the boilers and engines? We are assured that the reciprocating engines for the wooden boats are being manufactured in sufficient quantity for all purposes, and that the turbines for the steel ships are also coming as rapidly as needed. Can we get the yards and labor? Here is the rub, yet the fact that new contracts have been or are being let for nearly a thousand vessels, that when the requisitioning began it affected 426 vessels on the ways or soon to be there, is evidence of a certain readiness of facilities. Labor officials are coöperating with the Government in obtaining men.

The question of men presents three aspects, for besides builders, ship-officers and seamen in great numbers will be needed. It is estimated that the yards will employ 400,000 to 500,000 when under full pressure, and that they now have not many more than 200,000. The Shipping Board speaks of 250,000 as required, and believes that the United States has so many skilled mechanics, and so many can be released from building trades and automobile and other factories, that to obtain this industrial army is chiefly a matter of mobilization. Pacific Coast marine journals report that pessimists there have been surprised at the liberal supply of good labor. Recent arrangements as to wages will undoubtedly help on either coast, both in drawing men to their work and in keeping them there. As for officers, 5,000 of whom will be needed on decks and 5,000 in engine departments, the United States has established nearly twenty free Government navigation and engineering schools. Two experts from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology are at the head of this national system. Candidates are, with exceptions in the engineering schools, required to have sea experience; they take a six weeks' course, then go on pay as junior officers of coastwise or South American vessels, and are eligible to the extremely well-paid positions of the regular service. Monthly now hundreds graduate from these schools. Commander E. L. Bennett recently told a Congressional committee that of the 165,000 men to be trained in coming months for ordinary service, 65,000 would be trained on shore. There are great training schools on the Lakes, and even inland —Dunwoodie, Minn., is typical. At Norfolk there will soon be accommodations for 30,000 men preparing for all kinds of naval service. The fighting fleet can be used to train men for mercantile service; British and other sailors can be used if necessary; and we can draw on the many thousands of men discharged in by-gone years from the regular navy.

The hugeness of the whole programme, we must remember, makes possible big mistakes, big disappointments, big setbacks which will still not be so big as to be really formidable. There are bound to be missteps. So far as we can see now, no element of uncertainty save that which concerns labor for the yard comes anywhere near justifying dark forebodings; and with special inducements, recruiting measures, and improvised schools, labor is being scraped together. The effort is the most basic of the three great efforts we must make—the provision of ships, food, and armed men. The Government is laying its plans with a breadth that indicates its faith in the immense energy and resourcefulness of the nation.

# The Negro's Brighter Outlook

ONE of the most notable actions taken by the American Federation of Labor at its Buffalo meeting has gone practically unnoticed. We refer to its decision to organize the negro workingmen, notably in the South. By this vote it struck down race prejudice in union-labor circles, and, it is to be hoped, put an end to the bitter antagonism which has prevailed among organized workingmen against the colored American. We are, of course, not so blind as to believe that this action was due to any purely altruistic motive. It has been forced by the growing power of the negro workingman, his rise in the social and industrial scale, and his recent migration in such large numbers to the North. At East St. Louis there is pretty convincing evidence that union labor engineered or instigated the horrible riots. At Buffalo there was, fortunately for the good name of labor, a realization that a different policy must prevail.

Curiously enough, the white Southern delegates were reported as favoring this move. Perhaps this is wholly due to the fear of unorganized competition and the use of negroes as strike-breakers. Whatever the motive, it is so long a step forward towards recognizing the industrial equality of the negro as to cause much rejoicing among the colored people. North and South the color line has rigidly been drawn against them by the very men who preached the equality and solidarity of labor. Here and there in the North negroes have been admitted to unions, but in the main the color line has been as rigidly drawn against them as on the railways of the South. It was an untenable position for the Federation of Labor, and enlightened (or unenlightened) self-interest has now led the way to a reversal of its historic and unfair position.

If the negro migration from the South is entitled in large measure to the credit for this change in policy, then that interesting economic phenomenon is again to be acclaimed as the most momentous industrial happening for the race since Emancipation. We have frequently called attention to its interesting phases—that there has been absolutely no leadership or organized propaganda; that it has bordered at times upon a psychological panic in that well-to-do farmers have left without, in some places, even waiting to dispose of their property; that it has been heaviest in those counties where there have been the most lynchings and the worst misgovernment by the white overlords, and that it has none the less lacked, as a movement, any self-consciousness. But whatever its causes and its peculiar manifestations, it has been working wonders in the South, which far offset the evils of overcrowding and generally improper housing which confront the negro when he reaches the North.

One of the most valuable results of this exodus has been a sudden recognition in the South that if it would keep its negro labor it must bid for it precisely as other sections have to bid for theirs. For decades it has been possible to misgovern and depress the negro because the poor, dumb man had no refuge or desire to seek one. Now that he is of such stature that he can think for himself, and the high wages of this war-time have created a lure that he can understand, Southern planters and merchants are suddenly realizing that if they would get ahead they must find out what is wrong and why the old proud boast that the South-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

erner knew best how to care for the negro is suddenly proved to be in error. So there have been most interesting meetings between colored and white leaders in Memphis and numerous other places where for the first time the best men of the two races have come together to counsel as to what is wrong and to see what can be done. Invariably, the colored people have submitted their long list of grievances, which always includes grave injustice in the courts—where the negro is denied a trial by members of his own race—and invariably the whites have promised to better conditions, notably in the schools. If it is true that this change is due to the "pocket-nerve" of the white man being affected, the negroes are not quarrelling with this; they are thankful for help, whatever may be the cause.

Far-reaching this changed attitude of the South and the changed tone of its press are certain to be. They come, moreover, in a year that sees not only the recognition of the race by organized labor, but the most momentous Supreme Court decision in its favor since the Dred Scott decision—that making it impossible to establish segregation of the blacks in any American city. The year has also seen the establishment of a camp for negro officers from which 626 officers were commissioned to an army that contains also a hundred colored medical officers and 83,600 drafted negroes, in addition to the many thousands who have voluntarily enlisted. There are not enough officers in proportion to the colored soldiers or population; nor can the War Department clear itself from the charge of half-heartedness and weakness in dealing with phases of this army matter. The tendency still is to make the negro a stevedore, and not a soldier. But since this comes from an Administration which began its career by segregating the negro in the Washington departments, has never spoken out against lynching of blacks or the East St. Louis barbarities, or recognized in any way the existence of a negro problem, we must perhaps be thankful that it has seen the light to this extent.

# The Decision on the Harvard-Technology Merger

THE Supreme Court of Massachusetts on Tuesday of last week decided a case of great importance to university development in its State when it forbade the merger of Harvard University and the Institute of Technology for the purpose of creating a great scientific school, jointly to be managed by the two institutions and thus to avoid building up two great schools of science side by side—actually within two miles of each other. The court held that the purpose of the proposed merger, however meritorious, was not in accordance with the provisions of the will of Gordon McKay, whose millions were the basis for the union, and that, therefore, the will must be upheld. From the point of view of confirming the sacredness of a last will and testament, the decision is of far-reaching value. There has been of late years a tendency in all courts to allow the administrators of great trusts to break provisions of a will which have been clearly outgrown by the lapse of much time. This happened in the Sailors' Snug Harbor case in New York city, in which the courts permitted the trustees to disregard certain provisions as to the retention of real estate. But what is allowable after a hundred years is not to be taken as a precedent in this case, after a lapse of only a dozen years since the testator left his wealth to Harvard for the purpose of creating a great scientific institution.

Aside from the question of upholding the will, we cannot but feel that simple justice required the court's decision, for the late Prof. Nathaniel S. Shaler, who was Gordon McKay's intimate personal friend, was on record as testifying that Mr. McKay carefully went over the plant of the Institute of Technology before drawing his will, and was so little pleased with what he found there that he deliberately gave to Harvard the means for starting a new scientific school. This may have been wise or unwise, large or petty, but Harvard accepted those provisions when it took over the money left to it under the will. An effort was made to convince the court that the School of Applied Science on the Charles River Embankment (that is, the Institute of Technology) is a "Harvard school, a department of Harvard University," but the court declared that it could not assent to any such interpretation because the two institutions are distinct, even though 14 of the 120 members of the faculty of the Institute come from Harvard. The court held that as the engineering school was not only situated at the Institute, but was controlled and conducted by the Institute, instead of by the University, it was impossible to say that it was really a part of Harvard within the meaning of the will.

From the educational point of view this is unquestionably a regrettable outcome. Eight years after Harvard received the first four millions of the McKay bequest and established its Graduate School of Applied Science, with a view to making it serve science as the Harvard Law School and the Harvard Medical School are serving their branches of education, the new school had attracted less than sixty graduate students, while there were at the same time 250 graduate students seeking the higher degrees offered by the Technology. When the merger was decided upon, Harvard transferred all its professors of civil, mechanical, mining, electrical, and sanitary engineering to the Institute, and prepared to abandon all form of scientific instruction. Now that this plan is wrecked, the Harvard authorities must sit down to face an uncomfortable and difficult situation and to undo whatever they may have done in conjunction with the Institute of Technology since the agreement was entered into.

Shall there be a renewal of the efforts to bring about an actual union of these two great schools? President Eliot favored it in 1904 and 1905 to the extent that he desired the physical removal of the Institute to Harvard to bear a relationship towards the University such as the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge bear towards those universities. This was bitterly opposed by the graduates of the Institute, who insist that it shall keep its separate entity. Since that time the Institute has erected its splendid new buildings on the bank of the Charles, has raised large sums of money, and received some State aid. It is altogether probable, therefore, that any effort to revive President Eliot's scheme or one like it will fail. The court's decision makes it plain that the Institute cannot receive any of Gordon McKay's money unless it is actually as much under the control of the Harvard governing bodies as are the Law School and the Medical School.

What, then, shall Harvard do? Perhaps there is the possibility of a subdivision of the field of science. New departments and new needs are constantly arising. Thus,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

at the Institute they are just establishing a great department of marine architecture in consonance with the nation's new plans for a mercantile marine. For some time past the Institute has been specializing in matters of aviation, even before the United States entered the war. It would seem, therefore, as if Harvard might select certain branches of science for its own and reach a friendly agreement with the Institute in regard thereto. Whether anything like the present arrangement of having individual students carried simultaneously as attending both institutions can be again worked out is difficult to foretell. But if some such compromise is not arrived at, Harvard is likely to duplicate the Institute needlessly, or to suffer from "undigested" millions and be recreant to her solemnly accepted trust. For by 1956 the McKay money will amount to no less than twenty-three millions, some authorities even predicting that it will reach thirty millions by that time. Here is a nut to crack which will try to the utmost Cambridge administrative genius.

## Offensive Billboards

NOW that at 11 P. M. darkness falls like a poultice on the eyes of Broadway pedestrians, some of them have taken heart to look askance at the billboards. It is an achievement to check for a time the careering Roman chariots which tear down upon the gigantic kitten that in turn bowls spools at enormous jumping-jack brownies, with a phantasmagoria of minor atrocities in green, red, and white fire helping them shut out the stars. How much better still if we could walk the street in daytime without need of consciously closing our minds against the advertiser's appeals to drink his cocoa, eat his bacon, wear his corsets, smoke his cigars, sip his wine, and buy his bungalows! Our Court of Appeals held some years ago in this connection that "æsthetic considerations are a matter of luxury and indulgence rather than of necessity," a verdict which—think how it would have outraged Ruskin, and turned to bitter conviction Emerson's belief that with the luxuries of life we could dispense with the necessities!—may be law, but is not common-sense. But accepting the law, could we not take over all vacant lots as war-gardens and decree that the hoardings deprive their rocky surfaces of the sun; or commandeer the wood as kindling; or allege that these 3,000 billboards are in brazen imitation of something German, as many are certain to be, and so drive them forth?

The billboard is far from being metropolitan or even urban, it is so old, and it has grown steadily worse; and it is not surprising that the crusade against it has assumed immensely wide proportions. Advertising long constituted a pleasingly mild invasion of the country, in the form of roughly painted injunctions on plank fences to buy some one's pills, and tin segments proclaiming from telegraph posts the merits of some one's chewing tobacco. But the billboard has come in with the automobile. Where once the traveller mused that every prospect pleases, he is now brought to a stop before the announcement of a roadhouse five miles beyond, one of a great clothing sale ten miles to one side, and a polemic for the kitchen-ranges sold just behind. Where he once exclaimed that to one who has been long in cities pent 'tis very sweet to look into the open face of heaven, he now wonders which of two contentious advertisements of automobile tires is the more mendacious. The barns that once nestled picturesquely against the rocky hillsides now display broad sides gaudily lettered by the best painter from Boston or Chicago, amid near-by boulders with similar inscriptions. The railways between New York and Philadelphia would have delighted Dr. Johnson, who is said to have stated that one green field was like another, but that Fleet Street was endless in variety and interest; he could pass between these two cities, a hundred miles apart, without once seeing a green field. We do not mean to say that billboards yet form a solid wall between, though that consummation is not far off; but simply that the eye has not stopped clinging to one sign before another comes plainly in view. The wooden cows would especially please Dr. Johnson's Cockney soul.

In their bitterness some men have said that all billboards are evil—Lord Dunsany, for example, exasperated by the beef-extract signs which plaster all England; but this is not so. Some signs are artistic, as one now prominent in this country drawn by Maxfield Parrish for a company making automobile tires; some are so ingenious as to please the mind if not the eye, as the famous hoarding of a British comic paper, representing a jolly man seated at a picnic lunch beside a stream, reading the said comic paper with such an abstraction of intense mirth that he does not see that he has forked a frog instead of a bit of meat, and is popping it into his mouth. Along a dirty canal, or stretch of ugly vacant lots, or even some dull streets, a signboard may be temporarily praiseworthy, though we may believe that the ugliness would be sooner mended if it did not protectingly intervene. But in New York four years ago a commission reported that billboards "are not confined to the unimproved tracts and rubbish yards on the outskirts of the city . . . but are thrust into the very finest vistas which our public places present"; that "they rob the people of their rightful heritage of beauty"; and that they "very frequently have an injurious effect upon property values and are a real nuisance." This commission recommended nearly twenty restrictions upon the billboards. They should not be allowed near parks, squares, and first-class residential districts, vulgar advertisements should be censored, there should be strict requirements regarding the removal of rubbish near them and the prevention of fires, they should not be allowed to restrict light, localities should exercise local option to prohibit them, and a grand excise tax should be laid on the outdoor advertising business. New York's present ordinances, as limited by the Court of Appeals' decision, are quite inadequate.

In most of Europe, and in the largest South American cities, billboards are severely kept within proper bounds, and one is less struck by them than by the posters which give real scope for the artists. In this country, Chicago is perhaps in the vanguard with an excellent ordinance, upheld last year by the Supreme Court of the United States, making it illegal to erect a billboard in residential blocks without obtaining the consent in writing of a majority of property-owners on both sides of the street, taking out a city permit, and paying fees of $3 for each 25 lineal feet. In Washington, D. C., and Los Angeles, the consent of the residents is similarly required. Ottawa, Canada, has a very rigid ordinance for the control of billboards. Slowly the movement for proper regulation will make progress, and in the end the nuisance will be reckoned among the curious transiencies of American social history.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Two Conceptions of Holy War

By A. J. BARNOUW

I HAVE often had occasion to refer to the reckless policy of the Flemish activists, and, at the risk of seeming a bore to the readers of the *Nation*, I venture to revert to this subject, whose importance may be gauged from Freiherr von Bissing's admission that Germany's victory or defeat will mainly depend on the success or the failure of these Belgian Sinn Feiners. In a letter which the late Governor-General of Belgium addressed, during his last illness, to Herr Stresemann, a pro-annexationist member of the Reichstag, the writer professed to have proved beyond dispute that, "should Belgium not be drawn within the sphere of Germany's power and be ruled and exploited according to Germany's interests, Germany would have lost the war." And the writer went on to explain by what means Belgium could be made a prey to the German eagle. He rejected the policy of the mailed fist, which had often been recommended to him as the only effective one. "But I have sought secret relations which will prove their usefulness as soon as Germany can pronounce the mighty word of conquest. Part of that policy has been my handling of the Flemish question, and my moderate and yielding attitude towards the Roman Catholic Church. If I had chosen to wage the *Kulturkampf*, my task might have been easier, but we shall want the help of the Church if we intend to Germanize Belgium."

The publication of this letter, a few months ago, in the *...tional Correspondenz*, had evidently its purpose to serve. ...n-Germans were beginning to feel uneasy about the plans ...f their Government. From an article in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, the Imperial Chancellor's speaking-trumpet, they had received the impression that in official quarters at Berlin the annexation of Belgium had been struck off the programme, an impression which the subsequent course of events has come to corroborate, and Freiherr von Bissing's ghost was raised from his posthumous papers to admonish the nation not to support the Government in renouncing the only policy which could bring about a German victory. For the Flemish activists and their preposterous "Council of Flanders" the publication of the letter was hopelessly compromising. For it was they, of course, who were meant by the "secret relations which will prove their usefulness as soon as Germany can pronounce the mighty word of conquest." From the German point of view it was not a bad move thus to expose them as the henchmen of the conqueror. The deeper they get involved in their treacherous adventure, the harder they will exert themselves in averting an issue which would restore the Belgium of before the war. Despairing of ever receiving mercy at the hands of their own rulers, they grow more reckless in their backing of the enemy. Having first renounced their lawful government, they now begin to turn against their spiritual leader, the Belgian Primate. Cardinal Mercier, the brave spokesman of his suffering people, stands in the way of a reconciliation, such as Freiherr von Bissing had in view, between the German Government and the Belgian Catholic clergy. The moral strength of this man surpasses the physical power on which alone the conqueror relies. The reverence he inspires is stronger than the people's fear of German frightfulness. However, the Malines Primate must be removed before peace is declared, as his magic influence would consolidate the Belgian nation and undo the work of disruption which is to serve as the German's substitute for his frustrated plan of annexation. But an open breach with the Cardinal would be resented at the Vatican and darken the prospect of peace for whose dawn in Rome the German Government is anxiously watching. It is in this dilemma that the activists can serve as useful tools in German hands. Let them raise a clamor against the Primate, and demand his departure. An activist of the name of Borms has started the cry. "Cardinal Mercier," he wrote in *Het Vlaamsche Nieuws* of June 22, "is doing his utmost to suppress the Flemish language, unmindful of the serious harm that his merciless measures may cause to the faith and the morals of his Flemish flock. Instead of encouraging those priests who, in answer to the pitiful call for spiritual comfort, went unhesitatingly to our men in the prisoners' camps in Germany, he threatens to ex-communicate those voluntary almoners." German papers eagerly repeat this sort of slander, and from them it leaks into the neutral press. His Eminence has, on the contrary, done all he could to get permission for Flemish priests to visit the prisoners. But all his requests were flatly refused by the Governor-General in Brussels. He offered to send only such almoners as would promise to remain in Germany till the end of the war. When that was not granted he asked leave to send almoners from neutral countries; he knew of several in Holland who were willing to go. But his perseverance was of no avail. The policy is easily seen through: first the Cardinal is prevented from looking after the spiritual welfare of the Flemish prisoners, and then the activist abettors of the conqueror raise an outcry against his shameful neglect of his pastoral duties. But what then is the scruple of truth in this unscrupulous lie? Two young activist priests had, without their bishop's permission, left their posts and gone as almoners to Göttingen. For this act of disobedience and insurrection they have been suspended; and in a meeting of directors of diocesan schools his Eminence added to his condemnation of their conduct a lesson on the moral duty not to undertake or support, on behalf of the enemy who occupies the country, any action which might lead to the disruption of the national unity.

It is a foul and despicable business, this German plotting, with traitors as willing tools, against the great prelate who, with no other armor to protect him than the devotion of his people, braves thus undauntedly his country's conqueror, waging against his war of blood and terror a holy war of the soul.

A holy war! "Look here, upon this picture, and on this":

The famous Orientalist, Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje, whose brilliant article on "Holy War Made in Germany" has created some sensation, has just published an interesting document which throws some light on the Turkish conception of this warfare. He has laid hands on a Turkish manifesto, issued probably in December, 1914, in which the "Committee of Unity and Progress," a powerful organization in Turkey, exhorts in the name of the Caliphate all faithful Mohammedans to employ every means which Satan has placed at man's disposal for the extirpation of non-Mohammedans, unless these are enlisted in the service of the Turkish Sultanate. This "General Proclamation to all Confessors of Islam," which Dr. Snouck Hurgronje has

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

translated in full,* reminds the Moslems that "they ought to know that the holy war has become a duty and that the blood of the unfaithful living on Moslem ground may freely be spilt. Only Jews and Christians who obey Moslem rule, the allies of Turkey, and all those to whom free travelling has been granted for the time being, ought to be spared. He who, either secretly or openly, kills no more than one unfaithful dog ruling over Moslem territory will thereby win a reward in heaven similar to that which is given to the man who rouses the entire world of Islam to new life. The Moslem may be convinced that, were the slaughter of only three or four ruling unbelievers the only good work of his life, he would be saved on the day of resurrection." Among the countries where the Moslems are thought to have every chance of expelling the unfaithful who have power over them and of freeing themselves from captivity are mentioned the Dutch East Indies, British India, Egypt, Tunis, Algiers, and China. One of the three aspects under which the holy war may be waged is the individual attempt of the assassin, exemplified in the glorious deed of al-Wardânî of blessed memory, who, with a revolver-shot, killed the unfaithful Egyptian minister and abettor of the English, Boutrous Ghalê Pasha. "O Lord," the manifesto exclaims, "how could the Moslems be blamed if in the world of Islam men could be found who would wage this individual holy war? How could they be blamed if some of these, devoting themselves to death, went out to cleanse the earth of the foul life of an unfaithful adherent of the Entente and notorious enemy to Islam? O Allah, O Our Lord! be our help and rouse the spirit of the holy war in our hearts!"

*The Hague, November 5*

# London as It Is To-day

ROSE-COLORED spectacles have been so much the fashion in London since August, 1914, that the visiting journalist seems to feel it his duty to put them on as soon as he gets there. Otherwise, it would be hard to explain his determination to see no change in London, though London has changed enormously and though it would be extraordinary if it had not. There might be some pretence of "business as usual" in the opening months of the war, but after three years with no great triumph to mark them, even the pretence has vanished.

It would be difficult to make believe that anything is "as usual" when streets once the most crowded in the world are emptying themselves more and more of their traffic. London looks different, to begin with. The serious shortage of petrol means comparative scarcity of taxis, and small desire to take them now that their price has gone up, while buses are so few that it is as much as one's life is worth to fight one's way in or out. There are still moments in the City when the policeman, with stolid hand uplifted, may have to hold back a stream of motors and taxis and buses, but the further west one goes the more nominal becomes his task. To walk down Bond Street or Regent Street in the afternoon about five, when of old they were packed, is to find them almost as deserted as on a Sunday morning. All this makes London another London, and a very sad London, to the true Londoner. And the sadness is the greater at this season of short days because of the necessary precautions against air raids. The street lights have been further reduced in number, and they are dim at that; windows of shops and public buildings as well as private houses must be tight shut after sunset. Also, as the Gotha has taken to coming earlier than the Zeppelin, shops close at five o'clock when an air raid is looked for, and the shopping streets are the darkest and most dismal in the town. Theatres hang out low blue lights, hotels and restaurants none at all. And altogether, after London, nothing has struck me so much in New York and even in Philadelphia as the congestion of traffic, the endless motors and taxis, the to me dazzling brilliancy of the town at night, though fewer motors and taxis here would relieve the Allies' shortage of petrol abroad and fewer lights mean the much-needed saving in coal. In London, where one freezes in the houses at the best, the householder's portion has been reduced a third, and probably will be a half before the winter is over, and the big shops, like Debenham & Freebody's and Marshall & Snellgrove's, are doing their best by closing all day Saturday, while the others are expected to follow suit.

These differences in the conditions of life naturally make a vital change in life itself, especially as already life in England has been pretty thoroughly disorganized by the conditions of war. People whose heaviest tasks were social in days of peace are now so preoccupied with new duties as to have but a margin of time for the old, and the business of society has been largely abandoned. For as much as still goes on, the difficulty of getting about is a terrible hindrance. The Spartan-like sacrifice of all amusement is not so much in vogue as in the first days of the war. Charity is the amiable cloak for a multitude of afternoon entertainments, and the need of amusing "our boys" on leave is an unfailing excuse for the theatre and for a dinner or a dance. But there is one revolution at the dinner table, besides the cutting down of the menu, that I never thought to live to see in London. Evening dress is no longer of obligation, and one has the astonishing spectacle of a man in tweeds sitting next to a woman as décolletée as the mode requires; of a woman in tailored gown at the side of a man in swallow-tail. I have the amused memory of my last little dinner where, of the three women present, one was in an elaborate low gown, one in coat and skirt and hat, and the third, the hostess, by way of making each comfortable, in street dress without a hat. This may seem trivial, but it is characteristic of London at war. Most men and women are engaged in some sort of war work, or busy with some sort of war committees and societies, and their days are full of necessary or often unnecessary tasks till the very latest dinner hour. When there is no getting a vehicle above ground and when everything that goes under ground is jammed to suffocation, they must give up either dress or dinner, and it is a healthy sign that they prefer to let dress go. No one who has not lived in England can understand what this concession means. It was Whistler who said that to the Englishman, so long as he was in his dinner jacket at the hour to which the dinner jacket belongs, all was right with his world; now that he is not, the bottom must seem to have dropped not only out of his world, but out of

*In "Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

all creation. No laws are more inexorable than social laws, and little in the war, I fancy, not even its horrors, has been more difficult for the English to accept than the misery of not dressing for dinner and the defiance of all tradition in cutting down the habitual menu. Many, it must be admitted, do not cut it down, and there are houses where war dinners do not differ in any detail from pre-war dinners. But others are more scrupulous and keep to the regulation courses, though, with soup and cheese as half courses and dessert thrown in, one can hardly say they are starving. The same freedom in dress prevails at all theatres, even those where a shiver would have run through the stalls at the sight of a morning coat, and at restaurants where it once took a brave man to appear in one.

It must be confessed that, on the other hand, luxury, if of a different kind, has never been so rampant. Never have shop windows been so full of costly furs, never have so many new shops been opened for what women call *lingerie* of the most expensive order, never has so much champagne and Burgundy been drunk even in the cheaper restaurants. It has been to me a puzzle, for in the restaurants the lawful number of war courses must be kept to, bread and sugar must be doled out in the prescribed quantities—only one slice of bread or one roll put on the table for each person, only the one lump or the spoonful of powdered sugar in its tiny envelope. The police keep their eyes well open in public places and the law does not err from over-leniency. Really, as a result, Londoners, forced to conscientiousness in the matter by the police or by themselves, are visibly growing thinner, and I have heard it asserted that within the last year the average belt has been drawn in by some three inches. But the bread and sugar rations of to-day, the one meatless day, and the one meatless day of last spring only make them indulge the more in the luxuries permitted—an indulgence sometimes explained by the natural desire of the soldier, who may be killed as soon as he returns to the front, to get what he can out of life before he is, and the equally natural desire of his friends to contribute to his pleasure. This hardly accounts for the extravagance of the women who, for war work of every kind, need and wear a more serviceable and substantial uniform than is displayed in the shop windows. Another explanation is the threatened conscription of wealth. Labor, having given its sons to the army and forgetting that what it loosely labels as Capital has given its sons too, and in greater number, declares that to balance their respective gifts the wealth as well as the sons of Capital must be conscripted, and it is understood that Lloyd George, perhaps conscious of no longer being the idol he once was with Labor, has promised that so it shall be. Therefore the people who have any wealth, great or small, say, "Let us eat and drink and wear it to-day, for to-morrow it will be conscripted." This may or may not be, but there is no question that the new economy in London walks hand-in-hand with a new extravagance that alarms the thoughtful. Nor does it cease with the class who hitherto have had the monopoly of spending. The working classes have never made so much, never been paid such high wages, but the chief use they seem able to see for their unaccustomed wealth is to fling it away. They claim their share of the costly furs in the shops, manufacturers of cheap jewelry have seldom been so prosperous, the markets overflow for their benefit. A workingman in a northern munition town bought a whole salmon at five shillings a pound for the family dinner, while an officer's wife stood by and wondered if she could afford a whiting.

Hardly less bewildering is the contrast between the urgent official demand for economy in food and the apparent plenty in the shops. The butcher continues to make his revolting wholesale display of carcasses and joints that would take away the appetite of any but an Englishman; vegetables and fruit—the fruit within limitations; bananas, for instance, have become a rarity—overflow at the greengrocer's; there is no lack of fish at the fish-monger's; the grocer's windows abound in delicacies, many as are the necessities missing. When one gets on the other side of the windows, it is no wonder that the stranger in London is impressed by the abundance everywhere. But the housekeeper, fresh from her marketing, unable to provide the old familiar dishes and asked to pay through the nose for such simple and unpretentious necessities as bacon and eggs and butter and kippers and cheese, might tell him quite another story. And it is the same with almost everything one wants to buy, whether cloth or paper, boots or gloves, stockings or hats, matches or tobacco. It is amazing to discover how many of one's daily needs were catered for in Germany, discouraging to note the upward tendency of war prices now when income and other taxes leave so little surplus.

And so, underneath the surface of gayety, there is a good deal of gloom. Anything like famine is a very far way off, but the reminder of its possibility cannot be ignored. It took long for England to realize that she was at war, but nowadays she has no chance of forgetting it. If the London streets, bereft of traffic, were not so mournful, signs of the tragedy through which we are all living would still be met at every turn—the maimed and the disfigured in their hospital blue, the prevailing khaki, the women collecting tickets on the buses and in the trains, washing windows, driving motors and tradesmen's vans, the mothers and babies seeking refuge in the tubes at the first warning of an air raid or even before it, above all, those unspeakably grim figures, the gaunt, black, burnt, mud-covered, heavily burdened soldiers just home from the trenches: reminders from which we in America shall be spared. No extravagance, no indulgence could wholly shake off the gloom inspired by this daily spectacle of the streets. And when I left London and the details of the Italian débâcle were pouring in, it seemed to me that for the first time the Londoner was grasping the full meaning of a modern war with the most efficiently equipped nation in the world.

N. N.

# When You Come Back

By AMELIA JOSEPHINE BURR

WHEN you come back, my dear—if you come back—
You will not be the lover that I know.
Your feet are set in a relentless track
Whereon, except in dreams, I may not go.
When you have touched the sacrament of flame
And blood and tears, you cannot be the same.

And I—I too must change from day to day.
You will not find the woman you desired,
But one with head and heart too early gray,
Haggard and worn—and, God of Strength, how tired!
Must we, that day, to keep our stainless truth,
Lay down our love where we have given our youth?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Woman Suffrage on the Instalment Plan

By ROBERT E. CUSHMAN

THE life history of the late-lamented woman suffrage statute of Indiana, passed by the Legislature in February and declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of that State in October, makes it clear that the right of women to vote is not always won or lost at the polls; but that it may vary from State to State in origin, in scope, and even in the manner of its untimely end. It emphasizes the fact that woman suffrage may sometimes be conferred not by the State Constitution, but by the Legislature; that it may extend to the choice of some officers and not others; and that such a legislative grant of suffrage may raise delicate questions of constitutionality.

We are in the habit of regarding the term woman suffrage as a synonym of full equality at the polls for men and women. States in which that full equality exists have usually established it by amending the State Constitution, and when such amendments were being adopted there was no logical reason for conferring upon women merely a partial right to vote and no disposition to do so. Of the States which may be loosely termed suffrage States there are eleven which give women complete and unrestricted suffrage, and in every one of them this right has been granted either by a constitutional provision or by a popular referendum held in pursuance of it.

But in several of our States in which the Constitution is hard to amend or the sovereign male voter shows no immediate inclination to amend it the ingenuity of the suffrage leaders has been sorely taxed to wring any suffrage at all from a constitution obviously intended by its framers to be woman-proof. There are at present, however, five groups of States in which women have received, usually at the hands of the State Legislature, various-sized instalments of woman suffrage, instalments which vary in size with the affability of the Legislature, the elasticity of the constitutional clause defining suffrage qualifications, and the logical processes of the courts.

In the first group are those States which allow women to vote only in school or perhaps library elections. In some cases this right has been conferred by constitutional provision and in other cases by statute. While no one will deny that the control of the public schools is something in which the women of the community might be supposed to take an active interest, the fact remains that more and more women either are forgetting that they have the right to vote in school elections or are losing their interest in the exercise of that right. A small boy will gladly forego his own game of marbles in order to become an enthralled and wistful spectator of a real game of baseball among older boys; and one need hardly be astonished at the failure of many women, even among those who are themselves fighting for political equality, to be engrossed in the exercise of this very limited right of suffrage when the really vital issues of public policy are being fought out in the elections from which they are excluded.

There is a second group of States in which women who pay taxes have received the right to vote upon local bond issues and similar questions in which, as property owners, they have a direct interest. As in the case of the school suffrage the right of tax-paying women to vote on financial questions has been conferred sometimes by the State Constitution and sometimes by the Legislature. In all such cases, however, women are enfranchised not as women but as taxpayers.

The third group of States is that in which the Legislature has given women the right to vote for Presidential electors only, with the possible exception of school officers. Rhode Island, Ohio, and Michigan have, within the year, passed statutes of this kind, although the Ohio law was rejected by the people in a referendum election in November. The authority of the State Legislature to grant Presidential suffrage rests upon the firm basis of the Constitution of the United States, which provides that Presidential electors shall be appointed in each State "in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct." This is in sharp contrast to the provisions regarding Congressional suffrage. For the election of Senators and Representatives to Congress the national Constitution stipulates that the "electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature." Since the State Constitution determines who shall vote for members of the State Legislature, our State Legislatures find themselves in the anomalous position of being able to grant women the right to vote for President, but unable to give them the Congressional suffrage.

Perhaps the most interesting provisions regarding woman suffrage are those found in the fourth group of States, composed of Illinois, Nebraska, North Dakota, and, until the recent decision of the Supreme Court of that State, Indiana. In these States women have been granted by statute the right to vote not only for Presidential electors, but also for other officers and questions, State and local, which are not mentioned in the State Constitution. The woman's ballot in these States constitutes a sort of suffrage crazy-quilt by which the somewhat bewildered women may find themselves endowed with the right to vote for the county assessor, the attorney-general, or the State geologist, but denied the privilege of voting for governor, county clerk, or town constable. In this fourth group might perhaps be included also the State of Arkansas, which has recently given women the right to vote in all primary elections; and Vermont, which has given them the suffrage on certain questions in town meetings. In each case the right was conferred by the Legislature.

The theory underlying this brand of woman suffrage was clearly set forth by the Supreme Court of Illinois in its decision upholding the constitutionality of the woman suffrage law of 1913. The Constitution of Illinois says that male citizens of the United States who are twenty-one years of age may vote in any election. Now that clause is a limitation upon the power of the Legislature and prevents it from extending or abridging the qualifications for voting therein defined. Those qualifications apply, however, to persons voting at "any election"; and in the judgment of the Illinois Supreme Court "any election" means any election mentioned in the Constitution of Illinois, and no others. Accordingly the Legislature is at liberty to fix at its discretion the qualifications for voters at all elections not mentioned in the State Constitution; and since the suffrage act of 1913 had carefully confined itself to giving women

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the right to vote only for officers created by statute and not by the Constitution, its validity must be sustained.

Whether or not the women of other States can be partially enfranchised after the Illinois plan may depend either upon the precise wording of the qualifications for voting contained in the Constitution, or upon the courts. When the Constitution distinctly says, as in New Jersey, that adult males shall have the right to vote for "all offices that are now or hereafter may be elective by the people," there seems to be little room to apply the Illinois rule.

In several States having constitutional provisions regarding suffrage similar to that of Illinois, the courts have flatly repudiated the Illinois doctrine and have refused to allow the State Legislature to tamper with the suffrage qualifications even in the case of elections not mentioned in the Constitutions. When these more conservative courts have been forced to pass upon the legitimacy of allowing the Legislature to confer the school suffrage upon women, they have either decided bluntly against such a measure, as in Michigan, or have taken a middle position, as in Ohio, that the school suffrage is anomalous and the right to confer it rests upon the broad grant of legislative power to maintain a school system.

The recent decision of the Supreme Court of Indiana states clearly the position of those who regard the reasoning of the Illinois courts as unsound. The Constitution of Indiana provides that "in all elections not otherwise provided for by this Constitution" the right of suffrage shall be limited to adult males who have met certain requirements of citizenship and residence. The proponents of woman suffrage had urged that this clause meant that men only might vote "in all elections mentioned in this Constitution and not otherwise provided for by it," but that the Legislature might give women the ballot in all other sections. The Indiana court, however, was deaf to this alluring argument and announced in no uncertain terms its belief that when the Constitution said "all elections not otherwise provided for" it meant literally all elections, regardless of whether or not they were mentioned in the Constitution. While there is a difference in the wording of the provisions regarding suffrage in the Constitutions of Illinois and Indiana, it seems to be an unimportant one, and there can be no doubt as to the desire of the courts of those States to be squarely in conflict with each other in spite of any such verbal distinction.

The fifth and latest scheme for enfranchising women by instalments prevails in Ohio, where they now find it possible to obtain the right to vote in municipal elections by a sort of local option. The Supreme Court of that State in a decision handed down in April of this year sustained the right of home-rule cities to incorporate into their charters a provision for woman suffrage in city elections. Such a right the court held to be included in the grant of local self-government which the home-rule provisions of the Ohio Constitution confer upon municipalities.

One cannot review this process of piecemeal enfranchisement of women which is going on in an increasing number of our States without being brought face to face with the problems of strategy which it raises for the leaders of the suffrage cause. When, where, and to what extent should energy be diverted from an effort to obtain full political equality sooner or later in order to gain a limited franchise now? Obviously only stupidity or faint-heartedness could suggest asking for partial suffrage from a State which is willing, or might be supposed to be willing, to give full suffrage. But in those traditionally hostile or indifferent commonwealths where the spirits of the suffragists are kept up by faith rather than hope it would seem almost as great a blunder not to work for as large a part of the full and unlimited right to vote as the Constitution, the Legislature, and the courts of the State will permit. It is not hard to see that under such conditions any substantial instalment of political equality has a propagandist and educational value for the suffrage cause which it would be hard indeed to overestimate. While it may seldom be pleasant to compromise, it is frequently expedient; and the suffragists who feel a sense of self-stultification in entering upon a campaign to obtain less than they feel it is their right to have may find some consolation and encouragement in the philosophy of Burke, "It is a settled rule with me to make the most out of my actual situation; and not to refuse to do a proper thing because there is something else more proper which I am not able to do."

# Correspondence

## "Mustard" Gas

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In a recent editorial note on the Italian disaster you refer to the new "mustard" gas used by the Germans. You may be interested to know that it was tried first, four months ago, upon the Canadian corps on the western front. Its effect is curious. It does not attack the bare face, but wherever the body is covered by clothing, it raises blisters. It shows how resourceful the Canadians are that by the second night that the gas was used, they had found the antidote. A quantity of tubs and two thousand suits of pajamas were sent up to the front line. The "gassed" men were promptly stripped, bathed, dressed in the pajamas and sent to the rear. It is needless to add that the Canadians did *not* give way. ARCHIBALD MACMECHAN

*Halifax, N. S., November 24*

## "Borden Versus Laurier"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have read with a good deal of interest and satisfaction an article bearing the above heading from the pen of Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, which appeared in your issue of the 22d inst. The article is both judicial and just, and states very accurately the political conditions that just now obtain in Canada.

As a Canadian I am quite sure that the great body of the Canadians desire to continue aiding the mother country on the European battlefront, but many of the most patriotic among them question whether in a democracy such as Canada, where voluntary recruitment already has organized an army of 420,000 men, conscription should be resorted to, without an appeal to the people. The United States introduced conscription at the outset. This was wise and well. But the United States is a nation and declared war as a nation. Canada did not declare war, but voluntarily went to the aid of the mother-land. Her relation to England is exactly that of Australia to the mother country. Yet in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

latter they did not dare foist conscription on the people without a referendum.

Very likely Sir Robert Borden and his "win the war" motley followers will win at the coming election on December 17, but he will have planted thereby such seeds of discord and division as years of the wisest statesmanship may not eradicate.

It is one thing to aid our Canadian soldiers at the front in every way possible, but quite another thing in obtaining this aid to ignore the will of the Canadian people. There is no time for a referendum, says our "Win-the-War" party. This is plainly absurd. Besides, as a matter of fact, the voluntary recruiting during the past six months has very nearly reached the maximum number which, under conscription, is to be dispatched across the seas monthly.

I notice that several of the "Win-the-War" journals in Ontario cry out that there is no longer freedom of speech in the Province of Quebec. Well, I fancy that Ontario has led in this. Between two or three years ago a body of young men wearing the King's uniform prevented freedom of speech in the Opera House, in Ottawa, the capital of the Dominion. It depends upon whose ox is gored, you know.

Furthermore, had there not been a narrow unstatesmanlike racial crusade carried on during the past ten years in Ontario against Quebec, we might now have fighting on the western front not twenty thousand, but one hundred thousand French-Canadians.

THOMAS O'HAGAN

*Ithaca, New York, November 30*

## What Is a Grievance?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Much admiration is due to a man who can see both sides of a question. But even that rare binocular gift may be so excessively cultivated that it "o'erleaps itself." By making an exclusive specialty of seeing the other man's side of the question it may be possible to lose sight entirely of one's own. Under these circumstances, the man who defends the other's point of view until he adopts it is just as narrow as if he saw only his own side of the question, with the added liability of meriting the charge of disloyalty to the just and lawful claims of what should be his own side.

In this predicament stands Senator La Follette, convicted by that most astounding of all his utterances, "We had no grievance with Germany," at the time we broke off relations with her. This statement the Senator found it possible to make after the heart of the whole world had been wrung with the martyrdom of Belgium, France, Servia, Poland, and Armenia; after the naval assassination of the Lusitania and thousands of other unspeakble atrocities such as never before had blackened the annals of history; after hundreds of thousands of Belgians and French had been deported to penal servitude, or worse; after the kindly earth itself, in the regions of France and Belgium, had been ravaged of every vestige of green life, in blasphemous defiance of God and man.

Comparing these grisly facts with Senator La Follette's serenity concerning them, one feels the necessity of a speedy examination of three questions. First of all, what might constitute a grievance in the eyes of the Wisconsin Senator, if he found none in the monstrous crimes enumerated? Secondly, what is patriotism, if its force is so mechanically dependent upon the distance from outrages which should make the stones cry out? The third question is the climax of the heart's rebellion at indifference to the foul wrongs suffered by others: *what is man if mere geographical distance can so annul all human reactions against inhuman crimes?*

Would any man, worthy of the name, stand by, with hands folded, and watch a thug torture and kill an innocent man, or transport to a worse fate some defenceless woman? Assuredly not. But if that tortured man or wronged woman were a mile away from another man, who knew of the evil being done, would he be worthy the name of a man if he did not fly to the rescue? Again, there can be but one answer to the question. But if, instead of one mile, the distance from the scene of the crimes were a thousand or three thousand miles, and the victims millions of men, women, and children, instead of one or two, would any man or nation be worthy to be called human if that man or nation made no attempt to succor the victims of such outrages?

Never! Apathy under such circumstances would prove those capable of it beings in whose veins one might expect to find nothing but colorless ichor.

Nation after nation is trampled upon, despoiled, tortured, and transported; millions of little children starve, and with them die by inches, from hunger and cold, millions of aged men and women. To the farthest rim of the world, the convulsive throes of this fiend-begotten war are felt. Not only was the starvation of millions in Europe one of the results of the military madness and megalomania, but millions of the poor in our own country have paid a fearful toll in disease and death as a result of a war which has made prohibitive prices for food and fuel.

And yet, Senator La Follette could say, "We had no grievance!"

The whole world, furthermore, has become hardened and brutalized by three years of daily horrors, whose loathsome influence is as unavoidable as physical contagion from yellow fever. "After awhile we get used to it" was the naïvely pathetic confession of a brave young Canadian, who was forced to witness the ghastly barbarities on the programme of *Schrecklichkeit*.

Alas for us all if, in the face of all this fearful evidence, we can still say, "We had no grievance"! Alas for patriotism whose radius is measured only by self-interest! Those suffering from this atrophied form of patriotism should re-read in Dickens's "Christmas Carol" the words of Marley's ghost to Scrooge:

"*Mankind was my business. The common welfare was my business.*" Not till every man on the face of the earth is willing to give the last full measure of devotion as evidence of this civilized form of patriotism will the God of Destruction be overthrown and those who worship at his blood-encrusted shrines turned from the low-browed past towards which they face. No one can loathe the brutal stupidity of war more than the writer of this protest. But there are times when we need to remember the words of Dr. Parkhurst: "One cannot cure a cancer with a bread poultice." When a professor in Leipzig University announces, even in the glare of Europe's conflagration, that the "smaller nations must learn that they will have to yield to force," he gives the world once more an epitome of that blind and self-defeating despotism which has reduced the entire occupation of the world to two activities: killing and maiming and burying the dead and binding up the wounds of those who are obliged to go on living in the physical ruins that were once the fair temple of a human soul.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It needs must be, that we temporarily renounce our visions of peace and buckle on our armors and fight; but woe to us all, if we go not forth with the battle-cry, *Delendum est bellum!* And woe to those who sit at home and make laws, if ever after the end of this infamous spectacle of world impotence, we allow the war lords of any country to banish sanity from the legislation of the world. The old law of impenetrability holds good in the intellectual as well as the physical world. *Two things cannot occupy the same place at the same time. War will never be dethroned until the war-idea is cast out.* One cannot hatch out doves from a nest full of hawk-eggs. As long as the world keeps armaments, the minds of men will be little less than nests for military hawk-eggs.

Ye cannot serve God and mammon is just as true now as when it was first spoken. It was the divine application, again, of the law of impenetrability. The militarists, however, imagined that it could be done. The cosmic tragedy of the last three years proves that it cannot be done. Shall we learn nothing from that failure? There must be no haggling or half-way measures in the reformation that follows the war. The idea of war, as a possibility, must be treated precisely as if it were a case of smallpox, and every mental door and window shut against it forever. How build upon the normal and constructive platform of peace, if all our mental faculties are occupied with the displacing activities that go with armaments and compulsory military training? The very armaments themselves with their suggestions continue to breed in our minds the same old dangerous broods of the war-hawk. If we make ready for war it will always come forth to meet us. If we make ready for peace, first by slamming the door always in the face of any suggestion of war as a possibility and afterwards by more detailed methods of construction, we shall find peace also meeting us half-way.

Finally (and this is difficult) in aid to the permanence of the same end, every nation must cast out the devil of hate, at the same time that the war-idea is cast out. Above all should we reach out to the millions of innocent members of the nation most responsible for this ghastly war a sympathetic hand of fellowship and to the entire nation a forgiving hand, when it finally renounces its obsession of militarism. There can be no healing for the nations as long as any is left outside the fold of brotherhood, foretold by the prophet Micah, when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. Commerce and all the devices for swift communication have so inter-knit the peoples of the world that we are in a literal sense fellow-members one with another. All of which has been much better said in the lines of Whittier:

> Like warp and woof
> All destinies are woven fast,
> Linked in sympathy
> Like the keys of an organ vast;
> Pluck one thread and the web ye mar,
> Break but one of a thousand keys
> And the paining jar
> Through all will run.

At home and abroad until the war ends, let our battle cry be, *Delendum est bellum!* thereafter, let the perpetual slogan of peace be, *There is always another way than war.* If two men can settle disputes without killing each other two nations can.

ELLEN BURNS SHERMAN

# BOOKS

## In the Wake of the Civil War

*A History of the United States Since the Civil War.* By Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer. In five volumes. Volume I. New York: The Macmillan Company. $3.50 net.

THE history of the United States since the Civil War is less known than any other part of our past. Since the beginning of the present war most of us have felt the need of a better treatment of that period than is now to be found, and consequently we turn the more frequently to such works as we have: James Ford Rhodes's two volumes on the reconstruction period; William A. Dunning's keener study of the same subject in "The American Nation" series, and the various biographies like DeWitt's admirable "Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson," Thayer's "Life of John Hay," and Croly's "Life of Mark Hanna," strangely out of print and not available save in the larger libraries.

The need of a careful history of the period is almost imperative and there are rumors that several scholars are already diligently digesting the enormous mass of material, which is indeed a formidable task. Mr. Oberholtzer is the first in the field, and his plan seems to be a history of the country from the death of Lincoln to the present time, in five volumes. Mr. Rhodes took seven volumes to tell the story of the Civil War and reconstruction; McMaster required eight volumes to cover the period of 1783 to 1860; and Henry Adams described the Presidencies of Jefferson and Madison in nine volumes. Five moderate octavos for the vastly more complicated and difficult half-century since the inauguration of Andrew Johnson is a promise of brevity which is truly encouraging.

No President ever had a more difficult task than Johnson. This he came to realize during the summer of 1865; and after some waving of the "bloody shirt" he settled down to his work. Acting promptly upon the policy of Lincoln, he restored all the Southern States, except Texas, to the Union before Congress met. Southern leaders of the old régime, chastened of their pro-slavery ambitions, presented themselves for re-admittance to the national Legislature. Western men who had coöperated with the South since the days of Polk gave them welcome. A restoration of the former Southern-Western combination was imminent. If this were effected, the Federal debt would almost certainly be paid in greenbacks, the tariff would be reduced to ante-bellum rates, the freedmen of the South would be held, for many years to come, in a sort of peonage, as was then the case in States like Indiana and Illinois, and finally the Republican party, boasting daily of having saved the Union, would disappear.

Charles Sumner saw the inevitable if the President should have his way. He laid his plans accordingly. He endeavored to solidify the industrial interests of the East and he kept the bloody issue to the fore. The South must know what treason meant. Hemp was the only cure for arch-rebels like Robert E. Lee. It took mighty efforts to keep the wrath of the good-natured American people up to the boiling point, but Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens and George S. Boutwell and Ben Wade were equal to the task. Their aim was to prevent the restoration of the South until their policy could be made effective, till they could give their party a sufficient

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

popular strength for a fair chance of winning the vote of the Middle West.

Without making these mainsprings of political action clear to the reader, Dr. Oberholtzer enters upon his portrayal of conditions at the end of the war. He does not explain Johnson, but merely presents him; the same must be said of the other leaders whose personal opinions and prejudices were quite as important as acts of Congress. The student of history sees at once that the method is the method of McMaster, whose eight or nine volumes may, therefore, be regarded as the forework of the present series.

The best chapter of the present work is that one which describes the social, economic, and political condition of the South in the summer of 1865. It is a frightful picture of war:

> Sherman's army, on its way to the sea through Georgia and the Carolinas, had swept that part of the South so bare that it was almost without living reminders of human civilization. "You have no idea," said a Northern witness, "of the desolation of this country." . . . It was as though Attila had come back into the world to lead across the South an army of his Vandals and Huns. . . . The entire portion of Atlanta devoted to business, barring one block of buildings, had been laid in ruins. Masses of brick and mortar, discolored by fire and smoke, charred timber, scraps of tin roofing and rubbish of all sorts and shapes, spoke of Sherman's visit to this place. . . . Columbia was a wilderness of ruins. The heart of the town was but a mass of blackened chimneys and crumbling walls. For three-fourths of a mile on each of twelve streets not a building had escaped the flames. . . . The trees which had lined the sidewalks were rows of dead trunks. The city stood like Tadmor alone in the desert.
>
> Everywhere the same pitiful story was heard. Carpets were in tatters, or had gone to make army blankets. Pianos, which had not been cut to pieces with axes in the hands of Sherman's bummers, jangled; they had not been tuned in five years. Clocks had stopped; there were no clock-makers to keep them in repair. Furniture was broken and sat unsteadily on its legs. Windows were uncurtained; the stuffs had been taken down and converted into clothing. Not a complete set of dishes could be found; . . . but such privations could be endured. It was only the scarcity of food and the imminence of starvation which threatened really fearful consequences.

These were the scenes which met the President's eye when he went South; such were the descriptions which his trusted messengers to other regions of the South sent him. To relieve distress, make ruined men capable of self-support, and to alleviate some of the suffering of proud and heroic leaders, Johnson hastened his programme and forgave the sins of those who had been his bitterest enemies. To defeat his purpose, prolong their lease of office and power, and further humiliate those whose cup of humiliation was already brimful was the purpose of his opponents.

Another picture, given in the chapter on the triumphant North, presents the other side:

> The women [of Washington] resplendent in jewels swarmed the inns, the Capitol, and the ante-chambers of the White House itself. They were mistaken for courtesans. The bales and barrels of goods on the wharves of New York, the lavish expenditure of money in the theatres, hotels and restaurants, the fruit shops, the stores filled with precious stones, silks, the rich stuffs of the world so long unseen by the Southern people, awakened their amazement. The truth is that the North was in the midst of a period of plenty, pleasure and speculation which was deplored by all thoughtful and prudent men.

No less striking is the description which Mr. Oberholtzer gives of the third great section of the country in 1865, the Far West. There mines were opened and millions of dollars' worth of gold and silver were taken out of the earth and put upon the market. Caravans wound their way over snow-covered cliffs and delivered oats to the owners of starving horses at twenty-five cents a pound or set down passengers in San Francisco at a cost of $500 for the journey from Atchison. Speculators like Butterfield and hackdrivers like Holladay became millionaires, built mansions on the Hudson or Fifth Avenue. Immigrants from Europe and coolies from China were drawn into the new maelstrom of money-getting. Robberies, extortions, speculations, murders, and Indian massacres were the order of the day. It was a free fight for all and none seemed to think that either the riches from underneath the earth or the wealth of field and forest were intended for any other purpose than the most ruthless exploitation and destruction.

The book abounds in description. It is weakest in analysis, in the explanation of the impeachment of Johnson or the treatment of the South by the Congressional oligarchy headed by Sumner and Stevens. A good understanding of Grant or of Stanton in 1868 is not easy to gather from these pages. But it is foreign to the method of the author, as it was to that of Professor McMaster before him, to show why things happened. Here one is confronted with the unanswered query: what is history?

Shall the historian tell what was the cause of things or show the unexplained purposes of leaders and parties, things which are perfectly clear to any investigator worthy the name, although the documents may not always offer written evidence? Henry Adams tends to answer the query in the affirmative; McMaster and others in the negative. The writer of this new history follows the latter school and, in the opinion of the reviewer, makes a mistake which is likely to bring upon his work finally the unenviable verdict of being interesting but useless.

The strong points of the present volume are its remarkable portrayals of life and conditions; its weak ones are those which must become more apparent as the succeeding instalments come out. Indirect discourse, quotations from racy contemporary sources, pen pictures of eminent men, must hold the reader's interest for a while; but five volumes of this tend to confuse and weary, and one begins to wonder what it is all about. What did President Johnson actually try to do? What were the purposes of those who impeached him? and What were the alternatives and the results? are queries which busy men and even students will ask. After all the historian must be more than a reporter.

## Political Boundaries of Race and Speech

*The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe.* By Leon Dominian. Published for the American Geographical Society of New York by Henry Holt & Co. $3 net.

IN this scholarly work the author traces the connection existing between linguistic areas in the European continent and its political sub-divisions. The volume before us is the culmination of the original study published in 1915 in a series of articles which appeared in the Bulletin of the American Geographical Society (now *The Geographical Review*). Mr. Dominian is well-fitted to perform his task because of his familiarity with European languages, geography, and politics; and his work is a valuable contribution to that large mass of data, literary and otherwise, which undoubtedly will play an important part in the read-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

justment of national boundaries in Europe at the termination of the war.

Among the main contentions established by the author are (1) that language exercises a powerful formative influence in nationality; (2) that linguistic frontiers generally are the dividing lines among various types of economic and social conditions; (3) that a national boundary line drawn without regard to scientific principles is a "hatching-oven" for strife; and (4) that a boundary line adjusted in accordance with scientific principles is a forerunner of international good-will. Permeating the whole book is the fundamental idea that there is an important connection between linguistic areas in the European continent and the political sub-divisions therein.

Both history and geography, it is contended, furnish evidence to show that political and linguistic boundaries have, during the past two hundred years, shown a tendency to coincide, except where man has willed otherwise. The powerful influence of surface features and climate in determining the character of the flora and fauna of a region is, nowadays, well recognized. But Mr. Dominian observes that such geographical factors also have played an important part in marking off language areas as well as definite regions of vegetable and animal life. In Europe, the selective influence of surface features is particularly noticeable. But the effect of geographical factors in determining linguistic areas is, by no means, the only one to be reckoned with: the influence of economic factors, for example, is shown to have been of prime importance. "Considered as political boundaries," the author says, "linguistic lines of cleavage have two-fold importance. They are sanctioned by national aspirations, and they conform to a notable degree with physical features. Every linguistic area considered in these pages bears evidence of relation between language and its natural environment. A basis of delineation is therefore provided by nature. Eastern extension of French to the Vosges, confinement of Czech to a plateau enclosed by mountains, uniformity of languages in open plains and rivers, all are examples of the evidence provided by geography for statesmen in the task of revising boundaries."

By far the largest part of the book is devoted to a systematic presentation of facts bearing upon the main points under consideration. The boundaries of French and Germanic languages in Belgium and Luxemburg, the Franco-German linguistic boundaries in Alsace-Lorraine and Switzerland, the areas of Polish speech, the linguistic problems of the Balkan peninsula, the geographical case of Turkey and the peoples of that country—these and other questions, equally as important, are brilliantly handled by the author. In the concluding chapter, the whole case is summarized and the data amassed receive application in specific instances. For example, Mr. Dominian points out, with reason, that the present war "is no exception to the fact that almost every conflict of magnitude has been due, in part, to ill-adjusted frontier lines. Slight regard for national aspirations seems to have prevailed in the delimitations determined upon by the signatory powers of every important treaty. The seed of ulterior fighting was thus sown, for one of the main features of modern history is the growth of national feeling as a dominating force in human affairs." In another connection, he speaks wisely when he says: "With the history of the past hundred years in mind, statesmen engaged in the task of framing peace treaties may well heed the lessons taught by political geography. They might conclude then that greater possibilities of enduring peace exist whenever the delimitation of new frontiers is undertaken with a view to segregating linguistic areas within separate national borders. Commerce and industry will overcome ultimately these barriers and pave the way to friendly international intercourse. These are the lines along which intelligent statecraft will earn its reputation in the future."

In addition to the thirteen chapters of text, there is a well-written introduction by Madison Grant, a Councillor of the American Geographical Society; while the appendices contain data regarding German settlements in Russia and the Balkan states before and after the wars of 1912-1913, a classification of the languages spoken in Europe, and a selected bibliography. The book also contains several appropriate plates and a number of maps constructed with special care and worthy of careful consideration by the reader. On the whole, the volume recommends itself in all essential particulars, and is one which all students of European affairs, past and present, would do well to examine with care.

## A Partisan Russia

*The Soul of the Russian Revolution.* By Moissaye J. Olgin. New York: Henry Holt & Co. Illustrated. $2.50 net.

WE have long been accustomed to think of Russia as a gigantic peasant empire, an ant-hill of nationalities, languages, and religions; Russia was a paradox for the reason of her size, levels of cultural and economic development, and her "dark" and enigmatical character. This feeling of complexity is strangely lacking in Mr. Olgin's book. He is silent on hidden motivating forces which reveal the moral poignancy of the Russian struggle for the civilized world. The people, the soul and meaning of their revolt, are absent; what we have is the story of the industrial proletariat led and betrayed by a militant revolutionary minority. The people have no programme; we only follow the history of the Maximalists. All Russian life is looked at from the vantage ground of party bias. Everything is subverted to the philosophy of a proletarian dictatorship; literature too is squeezed and strained to yield the glorious essence of a proletarian, Maximalist ideology.

Mr. Olgin furnishes exact facts and figures; he unrolls the story of the peasantry, labor, and the men of culture and education driven by the circumstances of economic and political life into rebellion, with sympathetic understanding and skill. After a systematic presentation of the economic and political life of Russia at the end of the nineteenth century, and the great upheavals of 1905 and 1906 that induced Nicholas II to grant the October Constitution, he devotes almost one-half of the volume, under the caption of "Fighters and Dreamers," to an interpretation of the revolutionary movement by drawing upon contemporary literature; the last few pages recount the events of March, 1917.

The transformation of old Russia into an industrial state is clearly and convincingly set forth. Whether measured by the production of cotton goods, iron and steel, the increase of the railway net, the amount of export and import, the growth and shifting of the population, it is clear that the period of the 80's and the 90's witnessed the rise of a new, energetic capitalist class and the complete accomplishment

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the industrial revolution. Russia now had a factory population—poor, unorganized, oppressed by Government and capitalist alike. Contemporaneously with this new factory worker, we have the continual pauperization of the peasantry suffering under the double burden of insufficient land and high redemption payments to the old landowners for the labor lost to them after the emancipation of 1861. It is not clear from Mr. Olgin's narrative to what extent the communal system of land-ownership was an actual obstacle to agricultural progress; certainly, the system was somehow in accord with the peasant's keen sense of private ownership. If the land does not belong to the actual tiller, it is God's, in a special sense: it should not be held by a gentry who neither plough nor sow; this view has nothing to do with Socialism. The Maximalists did not find the peasant the right material for the Socialist republic; they turned to the city proletariat who was supposed to possess a superior collective cranium. Yet only a few years ago Lenine proposed a demogogic plan, in his pamphlet on the agrarian problem, that the party should profit by the religious convictions and superstitions of the peasant and set him against the landlord. The revolutionary Socialists exploited the peasant's love and hunger for land, and his distorted vision of "the true Tzar" and the "Golden Charter," which the nobles have stolen, to turn his passions and his heart's yearnings into channels of personal vengeance, murder, burning of estates. As an historian, Mr. Olgin is bound to speak of the peasant's "eternal dream of land" and his estate-pillaging "by order of our Little Father, the Tzar," but it is mockery to remind the reader repeatedly that sheer necessity alone threw the peasants on the estates instead of Socialist agitation. It is too clearly a desire to whitewash the official revolutionist.

The plain truth is that the Russian Germans have never understood the peasantry. The Russian intellectual, bred in positivism and materialism, is outside the life of the masses: he exaggerates the rôle of "personality" in social life; he believes only in the power of the revolutionary minority to win in the struggle for liberty and happiness, and thus terrorism is in agreement with his mentality. The main value of Mr. Olgin's book consists in the clear exposition of the revolution of 1905 and the exposé of the ideology of the professional revolutionists. At a critical moment, when order and discipline were urgent, His Proletarian Majesty, the Workingman of All the Russias, was betrayed by his Maximalist leaders. They continued to advocate armed resistance, invited workingmen to possess themselves of the factories, committed acts of terrorism and expropriation, demanding nothing short of immediate abolition of all private property. The result was that the revolution lost the support of all progressive factions, who soon tired of general strikes and disorder, and absolutism reacted on the fatigue of an exhausted country. For the sake of a preconceived theory of the future state, Russia's chances of orderly constitutional development were frustrated in 1906. The extremists made possible the return of absolutism; they fed its courage, its increasing self-assurance. Mr. Olgin is loath to lay the guilt where it is due; he would distribute it, or blame the lack of staying power on the part of organized labor, or the dulled weapon of the general strike. It does not occur to the disciples of Marx and Blanqui to examine their philosophy of the proletarian dictatorship, and adjust their programmes of life to the environment and beliefs of the ordinary Russian. Betray the people rather than smash a beautiful, rational social theory!

The pains of an industrial revolution are familiar. Russia's ailments were like the evils that have accompanied a radical change in economic life in every country. What is unfamiliar and dramatic is the story of the best talents of young Russia sacrificing personal careers to the people, organizing, comforting, instructing, to face exile, prison, and death. And this was done on a scale unknown in any other country. These were the pillars of fire in the desert-life of workers and peasants. The reader begins to feel that no country can perish where the spirit of self-sacrifice and social justice burns at such white heat, where faith and devotion in the cause of humanity is so strong; the soul of the Russian revolution is perhaps this century-old spirit of social heroism. Mr. Olgin begins to quote Prof. S. Vengerov to this effect, but he at once regains his Marxian faith and self-assurance, brushes aside four generations of "dreamers" and "truth-seekers," a noble army of authors and literary types, and with marked and painful intention he centres himself on a pitifully small and selected number of modern books, such as Skitaletz's "The Burning Forest" and Gorky's weak, romantic novel, "Mother," all written with a party bias, attempting to formulate a proletarian, Maximalist ideology.

## Brander Matthews

*These Many Years.* By Brander Matthews. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $3 net.

THIS book possesses, among others, one essential merit of an autobiography. It is, in matter and in manner, eminently characteristic of the man who wrote it. For this reason it will be peculiarly interesting and entertaining to the numerous body of his personal acquaintances. They will recognize him in almost every line and find in his evidently frank, because self-revelatory, retrospect a sufficient explanation of what he has accomplished and what he is. His life, though in one sense comparatively uneventful, has been uncommonly rich in associations which alone would make it worthy of permanent record, but has not yet approached the limit, of old age, and it is therefore inevitable that, for the still large mass of his contemporaries, many of his reminiscences will lack the piquancy arising from absolute novelty or the refreshment of faded memories. On the other hand, they have the positive charm of dexterous, fluent, clear, and vivacious literary relation. For the rising generations they will be full of fresh and attractive matter, but to older readers, even the personal views and reflections, which furnish so much of the distinctive savor of a volume of this kind, will lose some of their proper relish because of their familiarity through previous publications of the author, one of the most industrious and fluent of writers.

His childish recollections of fifty or sixty years ago, if they contribute little of value to the fund of general knowledge, make pleasant chat, and illustrate vividly the progressive steps in the development of his ultimate personality. He had the education, or the experiences, calculated to qualify a boy for being, in the end, an interesting octogenarian. Reared, up to manhood, in the enjoyment of wealth and expectation, never to be realized, of a still greater fortune, he makes it plain that in the matter of studies he was enabled to follow pretty freely the bent of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his own inclinations, which led in many directions. Although intelligent and fairly industrious, he does not pretend to have acquired much solid profit from the four or five schools of which he was at different times a pupil. But from his earliest days he had those advantages of social intercourse and frequent travel at home and abroad which quicken the perceptions and enrich the mind. He had already been in Europe, when in 1866, at the age of fourteen, he was again taken on a long tour, in the course of which he saw most of the sights that London, Rome, Homburg, Baden, and other cities could furnish, finally reaching Paris, where he indulged to the full his rising passion for the theatre, at a time when Delaunay, Got, and Madame Favart were among the reigning favorites. There, too, he saw a débutante, Sarah Bernhardt. Then came the great exposition, with all its wonders, and glimpses of the third Napoleon and other royalties. He was in Paris again, after Sedan, amid the scenes that attended the fall of the Empire. He saw many famous men and stirring incidents—all wonderful, fascinating, and stimulating experiences for a youth in his teens.

Then he came home, for an adventurous trip with Indians in Northwestern wilds, and to enter Columbia, as a sophomore, after a period of private coaching, which he varied by experiments in juggling, gymnastics and amateur acting, and much miscellaneous reading, especially in dramatic literature. In due course he passed successfully through the Law School, where he sat under Theodore Dwight, and began to realize the distinction between superficial cleverness and profound scholarship. Soon he was to meet the reverse of fortune, which left him largely dependent upon his own resources, and which he accepted in a spirit of cheerful and courageous philosophy which is wholly admirable. In this emergency the qualities which he had inherited from the sturdy New England stock, of which he is evidently and justifiably proud, stood him in good stead. With considerable knowledge of the world, and a goodly measure of polite accomplishment, including a precious mastery of French and an intimate familiarity with theatrical affairs and literature, he resolutely set to work to accomplish what he says was the principal ambition of his life, to become a successful dramatist. How near he came to this cannot be considered here, nor is it possible, or necessary, even to summarize the incessant activities which have made the name of Brander Matthews so well known in various departments of current literature, established him as an authority on his own special subject, and won for him his professorship in the University whose growth and development he describes so appreciatively. The record is one of natural ability supported by indomitable perseverance and unwavering self-confidence.

If this article dwells chiefly with the earlier rather than the later chapters of this autobiography, it is because in this case the child is so preëminently the father of the man. Mr. Matthews has never lost the enthusiasm, the impressionability, the precipitancy, or the occasional tenacity of youth. These characteristics give the stamp of individuality to his pages. Like Zimri he is stiff in opinion, if not always in the wrong. His genial egoism, inseparable, as he points out, from a work of this kind, has the excuse of ample positive achievement. Beginning as a free lance on the daily and weekly press, he has made his mark as critic, dramatist, essayist, novelist, and biographer. He was a contributor to the *Nation* (his estimate of Mr. Godkin is not ecstatic) and to the London *Saturday Review* in its better estate. He may wear the ribbon of the French Legion of Honor and is a member of the exclusive London Athenæum Club. Throughout life he has enjoyed the friendship of many distinguished figures in the literary, artistic, and social worlds on both sides of the Atlantic. And he has been associated, in their origins, with many useful movements and institutions—the American Copyright League, Columbia's Dramatic Museum (of which he is the father), the Authors' Club, the Nineteenth Century Club, the Players, etc., etc. He is one of the few fortunate men who have known how to take full advantage of their opportunities and has good cause for self-congratulation. It is to be hoped that his roseate vision of the artistic New York of the future is founded on something more substantial than the promptings of his own happy optimism.

J. RANKEN TOWSE

# Notes

IN the near future E. P. Dutton & Company will publish "Paul Jones and His Exploits in English Seas," compiled by Don C. Seitz; "Our Living Dead," by E. Katherine Bates.

THE new edition of Gustavus Myers's invaluable "History of Tammany Hall" (Boni & Liveright; $2.50 net) appeared unfortunately too late to furnish ammunition of the most telling kind during perhaps the worst-managed municipal campaign in the history of New York. That the city had to wait sixteen years before the story of Tammany crimes could be retold in all its ghastly completeness is enough to make every honest New Yorker hang his head in shame. For in the interval, and indeed immediately after the publication of the first edition, Tammany emissaries had bought up the entire edition, so that it was only by rare good fortune that a stray copy fell into a collector's hands. The public libraries jealously guard the copies which they were wise enough to obtain. How Tammany strained every nerve to prevent the publication of the original work, how impossible it was for the author to procure a publisher not only here but elsewhere, is only half-told in Mr. Myers's original preface, dated January, 1901. The book was finally brought out by a few public-spirited citizens, and now, in the preface to the second edition, the author continues the humiliating tale of Tammany intimidation (direct or indirect) of the publishing houses. All credit to the publishers who have now lent their name to the enterprise. The writer of the present notice may be allowed to parallel from his own experience what Mr. Myers relates. Having had occasion, some years ago, to approach a leading New York publisher with a plan for a book dealing with Tammany iniquities, he was told that if his firm brought out such a book an increase in the assessment value of their building would inevitably follow. It must, however, be said to the credit of this publishing house that it had already fathered a work in which Tammany was handled without gloves.

THE second edition of Mr. Myers's book carries the story, which he tells with such unequalled knowledge, and without fear or favor, down to March of the present year. If he makes it clear why the reform elements can

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

occasionally triumph over Tammany's eternal vigilance, he also lays bare the reasons why they so often fail. The book, however, is not a homily, but a sober recital of cold facts, which it behooves every one who would retain his faith in popular government to ponder deeply. The war, as every observer of municipal politics could foresee, furnished Tammany with its opportunity to ride once more into power; after the conclusion of peace the foe at home will have to be fought with the same determination which is to confound the enemy abroad. There will be, it may safely be predicted, abundant munition to add to Mr. Myers's arsenal. The one weak spot in his armor is his rather gingerly treatment of the preposterous Governor Sulzer.

WHEN we have a book whose contents were not originally designed for a book at all, but constituted a series of lectures, the subject-matter of the volume rarely forms a consecutive treatise, although the various lectures deal with subjects more or less closely related. This is the case with the volume entitled "Some Legal Phases of Corporate Financing, Reorganization and Regulation" (Macmillan; $2.75 net), containing lectures delivered before the Bar of the City of New York. We are told in the introductory note that they were not designed for general reading, nor for the instruction of law students, nor to suggest needed legal reforms, but "were intended for the practical guidance of practicing lawyers, already familiar with the general principles and rules of practice, in accomplishing specific things in the best and most efficacious ways." That the practicing lawyer may expect to find in these lectures information and suggestions of value would appear at the outset from the names of the lecturers—Francis Lynde Stetson, James Byrne, Paul D. Cravath, George W. Wickersham, Gilbert H. Montague, George S. Coleman, and William D. Guthrie—and the reader is not disappointed in this expectation. The first three lectures deal with important problems in the practical administration of large corporations, in the solution of which the "corporation lawyer" plays so leading a part. Mr. Stetson deals with "Preparation of Corporate Bonds, Mortgages, Collateral Trusts, and Debenture Indentures," Mr. Byrne with "Foreclosure of Railroad Mortgages," and Mr. Cravath with "Reorganization of Corporations." Here we have men of wide experience in these matters, setting forth with exactness and detail the results of their study and practice. They are serious, businesslike discussions, which should be very helpful to lawyers of less experience. In the fourth and fifth lectures Mr. Wickersham and Mr. Montague treat respectively of "The Sherman Anti-Trust Law" and "The Federal Trade Commission and the Clayton Act." Each lecturer traces the history of the statutory provisions under discussion, and then considers some of the more important questions of construction which have arisen in connection with them. So much has already been written about the Sherman Law in books and articles that there is not much opportunity for anything really new in Mr. Wickersham's lecture, except in connection with the most recent cases. However, we have here an excellent recapitulation of the most important decisions, and in each lecture the careful reader will find a thoughtful analysis of the statutory provisions under consideration. In the last two lectures the subject of "The Public Service Commissions" is considered by Mr. Coleman and Mr. Guthrie. Mr. Coleman tells "of the origin of the Public Service Commission Law of New York, its general provisions and the organization of the Commission, and the method of work under the Law, with . . . a reference to some decisions of the courts that have clarified the legislative intent." Mr. Guthrie, on the other hand, deals not so much with the law of public service commissions as it is as with the law as it ought to be. His fundamental propositions are that "commissions can be made permanently useful and successful only by observing three conditions, namely, (1) by limiting their powers to fewer and simpler functions, (2) by appointing as commissioners men who are really experts . . ., (3) by eliminating all exercise of judicial power," or, at least, by affording full judicial review in cases where judicial functions have been exercised. Although Mr. Guthrie argues his points forcefully, the present tendency seems, as a matter of fact, to be opposed at least to his first and third propositions. It is to be hoped, however, that there is an increasing inclination to agree with his second thesis, which is clearly on the side of commission efficiency.

"THE Case Is Altered" (Yale Studies in English, LVI: Yale University Press), edited, with introduction, notes, and glossary, by William Edward Selin, is the twelfth of Ben Jonson's plays to appear in the Yale Studies, and from the point of view of editorial workmanship is one of the best of the series. The annotation still errs on the side of excess. One does not see, for instance, why in a note on the transmutation of elements Mr. Selin should think it necessary to reproduce the list of treatises on radium given in the Encyclopædia Britannica! A note, however, might have been added on the name of the Farnazes, who are among the leading characters of the play. We have here, of course, the name of the great princely house of Parma, which was familiar even to the humblest members of an English audience at the end of the sixteenth century, owing to the part which was assigned by Philip II to Alessandro Farnese, Prince of Parma and Governor-General of the Netherlands, in the project of the invasion of England at the time of the Spanish Armada. It should have been pointed out, too, that the Colonnia, Colomea, of this text, is merely a corruption of another famous Italian name, Colonna. Still further, the editor quotes without correction Fleay's statement that there was no trace of any performance at Blackfriars until November, 1598 (when "The Case Is Altered" was acted there). We should have thought that the dust raised by the Wallace-Feuillerat controversy would have impressed it on the minds of everybody concerned with the Elizabethan drama that Richard Farrant was giving performances at Blackfriars with the boy companies as early as 1576. Mr. Selin, however, appears only to know Professor Wallace's "Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars, 1597-1603," which antedates that controversy, but not "The Evolution of the English Drama Up to Shakespeare," by the same scholar, where the documents relating to the matter are set forth in full. For the rest, in his note on the private theatres the editor misses the *raison d'être* of these institutions, which was to evade the law that forbade the public performance of plays within the city limits. Perhaps it may interest him to know that a "rope of onions" is still a common expression for a string of onions in our Southern States.

THE text of the present edition consists of an exact reproduction of an original quarto of 1609, owned by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. W. A. White, of New York. Variants from other copies of this quarto, which remained the only edition down to 1756, are given at the bottom of the page. It would seem that the earlier copies of the quarto actually bore Jonson's name on the title-page. He probably had it excluded from the later ones because of the comparative immaturity of the piece. This circumstance, added to other considerations, has given rise in some quarters to the suspicion that the play is not really Jonson's. The evidence marshalled by Mr. Selin in his introduction will silence all reasonable doubt. The play, which combines the plots of Plautus's "Captivi" and "Aulularia," is Jonson's only romantic comedy. It is, however, less heavy-handed, and hence more pleasing, than some of the more ambitious satirical dramas of a later time to which he was driven by the "sullen and saturnine" turn of his genius. In the bibliography we miss two German dissertations: W. Sperrhake's "Ben Jonson's 'The Case Is Altered' und seine Quellen" (Halle, 1905), and J. Gutmann's "Die dramatischen Einheiten bei Ben Jonson" (Munich, 1913). On the other hand, why should Mr. Selin so frequently cite H. D. Traill's "Social England" as an authority on the Elizabethan theatre? It would have been much better to refer to A. H. Thorndike's "Elizabethan Theatre," which, we believe, is not mentioned in the present work.

DRAWING its materials from a wide range of secondary sources but making no pretence to original research, stressing the picturesque in event and color, and written in an easy, entertaining style, Edwin Mark Norris's "The Story of Princeton" (Little, Brown; $2 net) is a worthy volume to set beside Arthur Stanwood Pier's similar study of Harvard. Dates and statistics are reduced to a minimum in these two hundred and sixty pages, and phases of student life are brought into the highest light; the volume is for the undergraduate and the alumnus in business, not for the man who has a professional or otherwise strongly developed interest in higher education and academic history. It is simply a bright sketch, made possible by Professor Collins's recent exhaustive book, and frank in its shortcomings. But the essential atmosphere and outstanding happenings of each period are rendered, and the author makes the most of the surpassing interest of Princeton's record. What Princeton owed to the "Log College"; how an early Aaron Burr served as second president; how it contributed more graduates than any other college to the Constitutional Convention; how it began the last century with a reign of terror traceable to bad discipline significant of the weakness of all American college education; how in later decades it nearly died; how it suffered during the Civil War; how "the great awakening" came under McCosh, and another awakening under Patton and Wilson—all this is told with primary attention to interest, even where it is obtained by bringing in such "traditions" as that concerning Fenimore Cooper's expulsion and Col. Aaron Burr's association with the young lady buried near him. Value is lent the volume by sixteen attractive drawings by Lester G. Hornby.

MR. MICHAEL MONAHAN is an Irishman—so we are informed, rather needlessly, by the publishers of his "New Adventures" (Doran; $2 net)—and it may be added that his hand is a little inclined to be agin' the powers that be. But that is not likely to injure him deeply with the public he desires. His adventures are in part critical—studies of Balzac, James Whitcomb Riley, Richard Le Gallienne, etc.—and in part miscellaneous—impressions of New York, philosophical jottings, etc. It is a book that can be read with pleasure and with some profit; at least it is never stodgy. We have said that Mr. Monahan drives with a free lance; we should add that he is loyal to the old Latin poets, a lover of rhythm in poetry, and no admirer of Walt Whitman or the new and much-advertised makers of *vers libre*.

THE Doran Company has issued an attractive edition of the correspondence that passed between Robert Burns and Agnes McLehose as "Sylvander and Clarinda" ($1.50 net). A few notes and a rather high-flown introduction have been provided by Miss Amelia Josephine Burr.

# The Opening of the Vieux Colombier

By A. G. H. SPIERS

THE opening performance at the Théâtre du Vieux Colombier is cleverly planned to suggest a similarity between the new French company and that of Molière, with which in fact it has certain strong analogies. The bill starts with an "Impromptu du Vieux Colombier," recalling the "Impromptu de Versailles," and using many quotations therefrom; it continues with a play by Molière himself; and it closes with a ceremony in which the comic dramatists of all the ages, represented by typical characters from their works, wreathe with laurel Marque's statue of the greatest of French playwrights.

This last feature was interesting only for a well-executed dance and for old music tastefully played by the Société des Anciens Instruments. Otherwise it was, frankly speaking, soporific. But this is the last adjective to be applied to the other two parts of the programme.

The "Impromptu du Vieux Colombier," composed by Copeau himself, is remarkable. Like Molière, Copeau has a position to defend, theories to advance and fight for, a public to win. He needs our support; but must ward off our inter-

The Nation
FOUNDED 1865
Published Thursdays. Owned by THE NATION PRESS, INC., OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, President. EMIL M. SCHOLZ, Publisher, Secy. and Treas.
Entered at the New York City Post Office as second class mail matter.
HAROLD DE WOLF FULLER, EDITOR
R. B. McCLEAN, BUSINESS MANAGER
WILLIAM G. PRESTON, ADVERTISING MANAGER
ROBERT R. CLELAND, CIRCULATION MANAGER
SUBSCRIPTION RATES.—Four dollars per annum, postpaid, in United States and Mexico; to Canada, $4.50, and to foreign countries comprised in the Postal Union, $5.00.
Address, THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street. P. O. Box 794, New York.
LONDON OFFICE: 16 Regent St., S. W.; WASHINGTON OFFICE: Home Life Building; CHICAGO OFFICE: People's Gas Building.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ference. Knowing that the public, like any patron, is as readily moved by the charm of a petition as by the merits of a cause, Copeau states a few fundamental tenets of his creed (already mentioned in the *Nation* of November 22), but does not insist upon them. He puts before us a rehearsal, amusing us, like his great predecessor, with the confusion arising from the necessity of giving a public performance with insufficient preparation. But under cover of his pretext, he manages to appeal to us by every force at his command. He touches with tactful brevity on the common enthusiasm for sincerity and beauty which made his company successful in Paris; he tells the history, the names, and the characteristics of certain members of the troupe; he shows them all controlled for work and discipline by their leader; he makes a passing reference to those dead in the war and to the experiences of others released by France to represent her art before the audiences of a cherished ally; he hints at the difficulties under which the American season has been undertaken; and finally he rebukes, with a verve which won over even the writer of this article, those who would pry too deeply into his tastes and intentions. A critic, like Molière's La Thorillière, interrupts the rehearsal. "Some assert," says the intruder, "that Copeau cares only for classic drama; others, for the ultra-modern." "Pay for a seat," snaps Copeau, "and judge for yourself!" "Then, too," insists the bore, "if you avoid, as is reported, all frothy and frivolous plays, will you get any one to come and listen to you?" To which the answer is equally that of the practical producer: "I seem to see that the house is well filled to-night."

And all these suggestions, Copeau communicates to us amid the bustle of actors whose wigs do not fit, whose corsages are missing, who are discouraged, who are joyous, or who are simply discontented with the rôles assigned to them. Through delicate appeals to our gratitude for his confidence, to our sympathy with his courage, to our curiosity for the picturesque, to our interest, as lovers of the stage, in a new theatrical experiment, Copeau, the fighting reformer, puts us into precisely the mood most favorable to his enterprise. He has told us, in so many words, little that is new about his ideas; he has pledged the future by no hampering pronouncements; but he has amused, touched, and charmed us. We are interested in himself, in his company, and in his purposes; we are ready not to be over hasty in our judgments; and we have decided that his venture is well worth watching. No artist with any faith in himself could ask for more.

But the play is the thing. Following the advice given to the critic, we have obtained our seat (though perhaps not paid for it!) and are ready to "judge for ourselves." After the "Impromptu," comes Molière's "Fourberies de Scapin." Copeau himself has suggested the proper manner—indeed, the only manner—in which to judge a play: first determine the essence of the play, and then compare that with the interpretation given to it by the actors.

Based in the last analysis on Terence, enriched by scenes from Cyrano de Bergerac, Rotrou, and others, the "Fourberies" is a work of adaptation and originality, shot through with a characteristic spirit. It is the impossible story of two young couples helped to happiness by the resourcefulness of Scapin. This valet is a born rogue, revelling in his own enterprise, daring, and invention: *les difficultés qui se mêlent aux choses réveillent les ardeurs*, he says; and had not Mascarille of the "Etourdi" said so before him, he certainly would add, with the same majestic disdain for grammar: *Vivat Scappinus fourbum imperator.* He is mobility itself, now humble, now arrogant, weeping here and laughing there; but he is always the valet, and his tricks are the tricks of a plebeian imagination and of a still more plebeian execution. He terrifies one old man with the sight of a swashbuckler seeking his life; he wheedles money out of another with a cock-and-bull story of his son held prisoner by the Turks; and monopolizes one-sixth of the play shutting up Géronte in a bag and beating him till the trick turns on the trickster, who then takes to cover.

Murillo's famous beggar-boy is looking for fleas; but Murillo's canvas is a masterpiece of painting. Just so, Molière's play is humble in subject; but it has characterization and style as well. Its essence is, at one and the same time, plebeian and artistic. How then should such a play be acted?

It is just here that we see the merit of Copeau's theories and, what is far more important, the novel thoroughness with which he applies them. A play is not life, but creation; or, since we are dealing with homely things, it is not merely catering, but serving as well. Now others besides Copeau have realized this fact. We have, of recent years, seen revivals of certain old, popular plays. These were interesting but disconcerting; though served with much sauce, they were unsatisfactory. And they were disconcerting and unsatisfactory either because the sauce did not suit the dish or because it was not properly prepared. Copeau, on the contrary, has made no such error. Recognizing that, as I have said, the "Fourberies" is of the people and also that it is not of life, but of art, he has not trusted to a vagrant imagination to supply him with a fitting interpretation. Nothing would satisfy him but a thorough study of those who, through generations of effort, have evolved a form of presentation combining exactly these characteristics. Copeau has first picked the right sauce, then chosen the best recipe.

France possessed in the past a type of acting which is now largely forgotten: the acting of the farce. We can only with difficulty realize to-day how highly developed this acting had become by the first part of the seventeenth century. It was an art in itself, with a special technique effecting in its own fashion the simplification and the exaggeration required by the perspective of the stage. Comedians became famous by their work in this field, and we have good authority for the statement that until 1620 there is no actor of whose talents we have precise information except for his acting of farce. Here then we find, in a superlative degree, that combination of the plebeian and the artistic called for by the *Fourberies;* and it is just here that Copeau has come for his instruction.

Everything in his interpretation of the play points to a close study of these old *farceurs.* He has something of their agility and much of their mobility of countenance (when not masked). His figure and face, not to speak of the characteristic cloak and tam-o'-shanter, are as much a part of his rôle as the lines themselves. His attitudes recall constantly the old prints; and if he does not, like Scaramouche, turn a back air-spring in lieu of saying "thank you," he does at least roll on his back and most eloquently wave his feet, in despair at having to die before Géronte will forgive the drubbing received at his hands. And what Copeau does himself, he requires the other members of his company, each in accordance with his rôle, to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

do also He has brought to life once more the actors of the *commedia dell'arte* and their famous French disciples, Gautier-Garguille, Gros-Guillaume, and their associates.

This interpretation of the "Fourberies" can, with comparatively unimportant reservations, be justified historically. For did not Molière's friend, Boileau himself, reproach him for allying Terence with Tabarin and, alluding directly to the play in question, write:

> Dans ce sac ridicule où Scapin s'enveloppe
> Je ne reconnais plus l'auteur du Misanthrope?

But Copeau has a more valid justification than that of history. Interpreted otherwise, the play drags and is full of incongruities. Given thus, it shows itself to be a masterpiece, harmonious and increasingly amusing from the beginning to the end. It is boisterous, ludicrous, and artificial—and purposely so. The manifestly impossible success of Scapin's roguery is matched by the equally impossible credulity of the old men. Swashbuckling Silvestre's ridiculous stride, his mask that does not hide his face, his fearful wooden sword (sharpened on the edge of the stage, if you please!) are scarcely more extravagant than the delightful *étourderie* of laughing Zerbinette, telling to none other than Géronte himself how ridiculously he has been duped. And the greatest is behind; for the crowning proof of the correctness of this interpretation lies in the success of that part of the play which to one who does not really understand it appears the weakest. Nothing could be more improbable than the dénouement of the love-plots. Zerbinette who has been away from home for many years, having been stolen by gypsies, and with whom Léandre has fallen in love, turns out to be the daughter of Argante and the very girl whom his father wanted Léandre to marry. Similarly, Hyacinthe, having lost all trace of her family, is proved by a bracelet to be the daughter of Géronte, who had planned that she should be the bride of that same Octave whom she has already secretly married. And yet, such is the atmosphere of caricature and improbability developed by Copeau throughout the play, that this absurdity appeals to us as a most fitting climax and the audience laughs aloud to see the author right himself with the verisimilitudes by means of a few surprised ejaculations from all concerned.

I would make but one criticism of this performance. For all I have said, the "Fourberies" is not an early farce written when Molière had little to say; it is not that "Gorgibus dans le Sac" composed before the return to Paris and afterwards incorporated into the later work; and the years of thought and observation that intervened between the two plays have left their mark in the "Fourberies." I could wish for a little more depth in Copeau's acting of Scapin, a little more delicacy in the charmingly artificial speeches of the lovers—in short, a wider use of that detailed interpretation of the lines that delighted us when listening to Géronte and Argante discuss how to bring up sons. But such criticism might well be considered hair-splitting. Copeau is fundamentally correct, and his work is a revelation. In future bills he is to present some plays of a very different character, such as Becque's "Navette," "Pelléas et Mélisande," Daudet's "Arlésienne." If he and his troupe possess the versatility to interpret these as soundly and as expertly as they do the "Fourberies," then indeed they will give us a new idea of the powers of the repertory company—at least when animated by the spirit of work and devotion that characterizes the Théâtre du Vieux Colombier.

# Reviews of Plays

## "OVER THE TOP"

WHILE the *Nation* does not pretend to take account of the vagaries of the season's musical comedies, we have been struck with a decided incongruity in this type of performance. It appeared even in that triumph of art, "The Land of Joy." Coupled with exquisite daintiness was an uncouth comedy which did its utmost to spoil the other scenes. In "Over the Top," a less pretentious performance, is the same annoying thread of vulgarity which runs in and out of an otherwise pleasant if trifling play. This is a most curious lapse of taste. One could understand it in representatives of an older day when a whole performance of this sort was frequently instinct with a crude vivacity. The comedian with his rough-and-ready jokes was not out of keeping. But having greatly improved the quality of scenic effects and having added a subtlety approaching that seen at its best in an operatic ballet, managers ought to understand that such a comedian as the one in "Over the Top" is a nuisance. F.

# Woodcuts of the Italian Renaissance

By CARL ZIGROSSER

THE exhibition of Italian Renaissance woodcuts recently opened at the Metropolitan Museum of Art possesses many of the qualities of the ideal art exhibition. It has the earmarks of a creative connoisseurship that opens up new paths of artistic appreciation, that is critical of traditional and accepted judgments, and that marks out newer and more stable classifications. The exhibition directs the attention of the intelligent observer to the woodcut as a work of art; it discloses the tremendous possibilities latent in that rather discredited medium. In the compass of one room it gathers many of the masterpieces of an art in which one of the most richly endowed of ages and races found expression. In addition it focusses the efforts and attention of two different kinds of collectors whose acquisitions have followed lines of divergent tastes —the book collectors and the print collectors—and there

Amusements

"NONE CAN AFFORD TO MISS IT——ALL CAN AFFORD TO GO."
GREATEST SUCCESS EVER KNOWN "Cheer Up!" Mats. EVERY DAY Seats 6 weeks ahead AT THE
Management CHARLES DILLINGHAM Staged by R. H. BURNSIDE HIPPODROME

EMPIRE BROADWAY AND 40TH STREET Evenings 8:20, Matinees Wednesday and Saturday 2:20.
A COMPLETE TRIUMPH.—*Herald*
ANN MURDOCK THE 3 BEARS

BOOTH 45th, W. of B'way. Evs. 8:25. Matinees Wed. & Sat., 2:25. Guy Bates Post
IN "THE MASQUERADER"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is much of fruitful interest to be gained from the study and juxtaposition of both. There are those who say that a show such as this should properly have been held at the Grolier Club, or some other place of local or specialized appeal. But it is just because these books and prints have such intrinsic merit in linear charm and grace of execution that the prestige of a great museum should stand sponsor for their introduction to public view. These treasures have too long been the cherished secret of a discriminating few not to receive the benefit of every publicity upon their appearance. They should have an appeal not only for the general public, but also for the artist and craftsman printer, for printing and wood-engraving are distinctly popular arts fostered by the people largely for their own education and amusement.

The woodcut might rightly be called the Cinderella of the graphic arts. Its origins were humble and obscurely lost in the mist of legend; it was always more or less the servant and drudge of the other arts. The taint of its commonness and cheapness still clings to it. Its essential charm is visible only to the Prince, who, casting aside common superficial judgment, is unprejudiced in his search for beauty. There is a certain flavor in the woodcut of folklore and folksong. Chap-books and tracts and broadsheets were illustrated with woodcuts. Many of the finest things in the art are anonymous. And just as great musicians sometimes composed pieces in the style of folksong, in folktone as it were, so great artists became interested in the medium and made designs to be cut in wood by craftsmen. The woodcut is the most frankly linear of the graphic arts. Its black line is a pure line, much like the abstractions of geometry, without any minute variations of depth, the subtle refinements of the etched line, or the blurred sketchy indefiniteness of the lithographic crayon. It has as great an enduring power as the ordinary copper plate, yet it has much more freedom in the working. It can be printed on surfaces undreamed of for engravings. The medium has flexibility enough to admit of such diverse treatments as those of Dürer, Ugo da Carpi, and Bewick.

One can imagine no more charming introduction to the appreciation of the woodcut than by way of the early Florentine and Venetian wood-engravings. These prints have a grace, an animation, a sprightliness of invention that have seldom been surpassed. They show affectionate respect for the possibilities of the medium, a knowledge of its resources and limitations, a feeling of doing things with the medium rather than in spite of it; in short, they were designed and cut by men who were thoroughly accomplished in their craft. What a sensitiveness to the beauty of the printed page these anonymous craftsmen had in the first flush of its unfolding; what a prodigality there was of vigorous and apposite decoration and ornamental initials and printers' marks. Into what charming by-paths do they lead the beholder, to Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Pulci, Marco Polo, and the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. What a vivid picture of the daily round of life in the Renaissance do they give us in these woodcut illustrations to the various Rappresentazione or popular Miracle Plays, the Savonarola Tracts, the Fior di Virtù, the Libro di Scacchi, Boccaccio's Ninfale Fiesolano, and so on. We see the people buying fish or preparing the daily meal; we see the blacksmith at work; we watch the crowds listening to the denunciations of Savonarola; we see the physicians in consultation, or the young bucks in swagger poses drinking to each other's health. There is a picture of a swain talking to a serving maid by the house door; it is a perfectly ordinary occurrence, but it is here treated with a dramatic vivacity and a perfection of line and spacing that make it noteworthy and memorable.

Such were the things that the common people demanded and obtained at the time of the Renaissance. There are times, it seems, when the populace encourages, or at least accepts without malice, the productions of taste and good workmanship. A similar thing happened at the flowering of the Ukiyoye School in Japan, where the populace, shut off by a rigid social classification from an appreciation of the painting of the noble Chinese tradition, evolved a cheaper and relatively more vital form of art, the Japanese woodcut. In spite of the fact that these color prints and woodcut illustrations were developed by the artisans themselves from crude technical origins, in spite of the fact that they were neglected and often misused as ephemeral things of no intrinsic worth, they have grace of linear design, artistic reticence, and a sense of style that place them in the category of art works. Instead of pursuing the easy methods of slapstick or vulgar imitation and circulating a debased coinage of taste, these woodcut designers looked at everything from the point of view of artistic and decorative value; they not only redeemed their efforts from oblivion, but reached one of the highest flights that democratic art has been capable of. The analogy between the Italian popular woodcut and the Japanese color print is even more striking if we consider the precious Greek and Latin manuscripts, gorgeously bound and decorated by the miniaturists and illuminators, in the same relation as the classical Chinese and Japanese paintings, an aristocratic form of art. There were princely collectors whose possessions were rich in all the achievements of the Renaissance and Humanism, but who, like Frederick of Urbino, boasted that they were "ashamed to own a printed book."

The Italians also developed a kind of colorprint, the chiaroscuro wood-engraving. In this exhibition the gap between the black woodcut illustration and the single sheet chiaroscuro engraving is bridged by two books with illustrations in color, Ketham's "Fasciculo de Medicina" with pictures colored in red, black, yellow, and green with stencils, and Sacrobosco's "Sphaera Mundi," 1485, with a diagram reputed to be the first woodcut actually printed in color. In the chiaroscuro engraving, usually printed with a key block and one or more color blocks in register, the treatment of linear form is replaced by an emphasis on tones and surfaces. The wash drawing, instead of the pen sketch, becomes the point of departure. Sometimes the bounding black line is almost entirely dispensed with and an unusual degree of freedom and plasticity of expression attained. Especially is this true of the work of Ugo da Carpi, who is credited by Vasari as having invented the art of chiaroscuro, but, who, as is now evident, merely perfected the technical process of several of the Germans working before him. These prints have an admirable decorative quality, and a unity and harmony of effect which is very pleasing upon the wall. It is unfortunate that they reached their climax not in the heroic ascendency of Mantegna or Michelangelo, but in the more decadent period of Parmigiano and Guido Reni, for these woodcuts were nearly all engraved after the drawings of other masters.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

They were meant in their day to be hung on the wall as cheap reproductions, and this fact, as Mr. Ivins points out in his introduction to the catalogue, accounts for their rarity in really fine quality and condition; they were literally worn out in service. Since then, however, their popularity has waned and they no longer appeal to the general public. They were preserved and appreciated, it has been aptly said, rather by artists than by collectors.

# Finance

## Russia and the Markets

THE most striking fact in the markets' attitude towards the Russian situation is that values have in the past week been so moderately affected. Russian bonds and Russian exchange, which depend on Russian credit, could not be influenced other than unfavorably by the rise of the Bolsheviki to power, their virtual seizure of the State Bank, and their overtures to Germany. Yet exchange on Petrograd at last week's close, 12¾ cents to the ruble, was ½ cent above last week's lowest and 1½ cent above the price of September in the Kornilov revolt. Russia's 6½ per cent. gold notes of the American issue were down to 54, the lowest recorded figure, but they had recovered earlier in the week, and the 5½s were above the November minimum. As it happened, on the day of last week when they were quoted on the Wall Street curb at 45 cents on the dollar the semi-annual interest was duly paid at New York to holders.

The explanation is the familiar one of "discounting" in advance. Certainly, a price for the notes, two weeks ago, which would give the investor 33 per cent. per annum if they were held to maturity and redeemed at par, and an exchange rate, two months ago, depreciated 78 per cent. from parity, had foreshadowed much. But the political and economic rake's progress has continued. Notes of the State Bank have been increasing at the rate of $200,000,000 to $250,000,000 weekly. In October $1,235,000,000 were put out; in September $1,165,000,000; and the total outstanding on October 31 was $9,180,000,000, as against $5,135,000,000 when the Revolution occurred in March.

Can the Bolsheviki commandeer the $597,000,000 gold in the vaults of the Bank of Russia and its branches? There have been curious stories cabled in regard to it; sometimes with the hint that the gold had been carried away inland and hidden. How could this have been done? The question may at some future time be as interesting as that of the Bank of the Netherlands' gold reserve when the French Revolutionary army entered Amsterdam in 1797. The vaults, when broken open by the invaders, were empty; but the gold never turned up afterward.

With the present outlook, what is to become of Russia's credit or currency conditions hereafter? It is really a question new to the world in its existing form; for even when the rule of the Bolsheviki of France collapsed in 1799, the $9,000,000,000 paper currency had already become nearly valueless on the market, there was no gold reserve at all, and the slate was wiped clean by the new Directorate.

By way of curious historical incident, Russia's fiduciary issues rose in October above the maximum issue of the French Revolutionary assignats, being the first time in the 120 intervening years that the paper currency of any nation has achieved that unenviable distinction. Whether the Russian currency will eventually be dealt with like the assignats, is a question wholly impossible to answer at this moment. In several respects, the situation is not identical with that of the note issues of the French Revolution. Those were publicly quoted in gold, on a progressively depreciating basis, and the merchants and producers eventually refused to give up their goods for them. After one or two "conversion" operations, in which the sum total of outstanding notes was reduced to conform with the percentage of depreciation on the markets, the "assignats" and "mandats" were allowed to go by default. They were never redeemed by the new régime which followed; but they had fallen, long before, to a purely nominal valuation.

To Wall Street's mind, the outcome in Russia is so intimately bound up, not only with the obscurities of the economic future, but with the complete uncertainty as to Russia's political situation, that judgment must of necessity be suspended. In that very complicated state of things, there is recognized to exist one consideration which bars all prediction. Before the Austrian Premier made his public statement last week regarding formal peace negotiations with the Bolsheviki, such action had appeared to reasoning men incredible. Even now, it is hard to understand the action unless on the supposition that Imperial Vienna (and, by inference, Imperial Berlin) is in a state of political desperation and is grasping at any straw. For the two Kaisers to recognize as their equals at the council-table the Lenines and Trotzkys who, at the very moment of proffering conference, are explaining publicly their purpose of driving the Kaisers out of office and dealing directly with the German and Austrian proletariat, would seem on its face to be their recognition of their own impending doom.

Whether this means that the Teutonic Governments have read the signs of the times in their own countries as outsiders cannot yet read them, or whether it means that they are manœuvring to get what respite they can from Russia, before repudiating the anarchists at Petrograd, it is impossible to guess. It has been strongly believed, by some of our most observant financiers, that December—already the traditional month for peace overtures from Berlin—will not end without another and more urgent effort in the same direction.

ALEXANDER D. NOYES

# BOOKS OF THE WEEK

### FICTION

Brady, J. E. The Case of Mary Sherman. Britton. $1.35 net.
Browne, B. The White Blanket. Putnam. $1.25 net.
Green, A. K. The Mystery of the Hasty Arrow. Dodd, Mead. $1.50 net.
Long, M. Van N. The Wonder Woman. Penn Publishing Co.
Owen, C. D. Seth Way. Houghton Mifflin. $1.50 net.
Sterne, E. The Road of Ambition. Britton. $1.35 net.
The Gambler and Other Stories by Fyodor Dostoevsky. Translated by Constance Garnett. Macmillan. $1.50 net.
Train, A. The World and Thomas Kelly. Scribner.
Wallace, M. The Ruby Cross. Benziger Brothers.
Ward, Mrs. H. Missing. Dodd, Mead. $1.50 net.
Wood, M. The Mystery of Gabriel. Longmans, Green. $1.40 net.
Wylie, I. A. R. The Shining Heights. Lane. $1.50 net.

### MISCELLANEOUS

Adventures and Letters of Richard Harding Davis. Edited by C. B. Davis. Scribner. $2.50 net.
A Manual of Style. By the Staff of the University of Chicago Press.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Appleton, E. J. With the Colors. Stewart & Kidd Co.
Ash, S. Mottke, the Vagabond. Boston: J. W. Luce & Co. $1.50 net.
Bancroft, H. H. In These Latter Days. Chicago: Blakely-Oswald Co. $2 net.
Barton, G. E. Re-Education. Houghton Mifflin. $1 net.
Bates, E. K. Our Living Dead. Dutton. $1.25 net.
Bell, A. A Trip to Lotus Land. Lane. $2.50 net.
Berle, L. W. George Eliot and Thomas Hardy: A Contrast. Mitchell Kennerley. $1.50 net.
Bird, I. L. A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains. Dutton. $1.50 net.
Boas, F. Grammatical Notes on the Language of the Tlingit Indians. Philadelphia: University Museum.
Brady, C. T. A Little Book for Christmas. Putnam. $1.25 net.
Chapin, A. A. Greenwich Village. Dodd, Mead. $2.50 net.
Colvin, S. John Keats: His Life and Poetry. Scribner. $4.50 net.
Converse, M. P. American Soldiers' and Sailors' Diary. 1918. Dutton.
Conway, A. E. A Ride through the Balkans. Sturgis & Walton. $1.75 net.
Croce, B. Teoria e Storia della Storiografia. Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli.
De Fornaro, C. A Modern Purgatory. Mitchell Kennerley. $1.25 net.
Elliot, F. H. Trench Fighting. Houghton Mifflin. $1.50 net.
Fairbanks, D. Laugh and Live. Britton. $1 net.
Fitzhugh, P. K. The Boy's Book of Scouts. Crowell. $1.25 net.
For France. Second printing. Doubleday, Page. $2.50 net.
Fryer, E. M. The Hill-Towns of France. Dutton. $2.50 net.
Groszmann, M. P. E. The Exceptional Child. Scribner.
Grumbach, S. Germany's Annexationist Aims. Translated by J. E. Barker. Dutton. $1.50 net.
Hall, M. Some Naval Yarns. Preface by Lady Beatty. Doran. 75 cents.
Hearn, L. Life and Literature. Dodd, Mead. $3.50 net.
Henderson, H. W. A Loiterer in New York. Doran. $4 net.
Herron, G. D. Woodrow Wilson and the World's Peace. Mitchell Kennerley. $1.25 net.
Hissey, J. J. The Road and the Inn. Macmillan. $3.50 net.
Hitchcock, A. M. Over Japan Way. Holt. $2 net.
Hodge, H. In the Wake of the War. Lane. $1.50 net.
James, G. W. Reclaiming the Arid West. Dodd, Mead. $3.50 net.
James, H. The Middle Years. Scribner. $1.25 net.
Kilner, W. G., and MacElroy, A. J. The Cantonment Manual. Appleton. $1 net.
King Lear. Edited by D. N. Smith. The Arden Shakespeare Series. Heath.
Kitson, A. A Fraudulent Standard. London: King & Son, Ltd.
Letters of John Holmes to James Russell Lowell and Others. Edited by W. R. Thayer. Houghton Mifflin. $2.50 net.
McClung, N. L. The Next of Kin, or Those Who Wait and Wonder. Houghton Mifflin. $1.25 net.
McSpadden, J. W. The Book of Holidays. Crowell.
Mark Twain's Letters. Arranged with Comment by A. B. Paine. 2 vols. Uniform with Trade Edition. Harper. $4 net.
Mickiewicz, A. Pan Tadeusz, or the Last Foray in Lithuania. Translated by G. R. Noyes. Dutton. $2.25 net.
Monkshood, G. F. The Less Familiar Kipling and Kiplingana. Dutton. $2 net.
Muir, J. The Cruise of the Corwin. Houghton Mifflin. $2.75 net.
Murray, M. Drink and the War. Dutton.
Noontime Messages in a College Chapel. Pilgrim Press. $1.25 net.
Nyrop, C. Is War Civilization? Dodd, Mead. $1.25 net.
Raemaekers, L. Kultur in Cartoons. Century. $5 net.
Richmond, K. The Permanent Values in Education. Dutton. $1.25 net.
Root, E. Miscellaneous Addresses. Harvard University Press. $2.50.
Saintsbury, G. A History of the French Novel. Vol. I: From the Beginning to 1800. Macmillan. $5.50 net.
Shackleton, R. Touring Great Britain. Penn Publishing Co. $2.50 net.
Stuck, H. Voyages on the Yukon and Its Tributaries. Scribner. $4.50.
The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829. With the Original Journals edited by Harrison C. Dale. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co.
The Book of the Nations. Transcribed by J. E. Sampter. Dutton. $1 net.
The Prison and the Prisoner: A Symposium. Edited by J. K. Jaffray. Little, Brown. $2.50 net.
Tisdale, A. Pioneering Where the World Is Old. Holt. $1.50 net.
Ussher, C. D., and Knapp, G. H. An American Physician in Turkey. Houghton Mifflin. $1.75 net.
Van Dyke, H. Fighting for Peace. Scribner. $1.25 net.
Vanished Halls and Cathedrals of France. Described and pictured by G. W. Edwards. Penn Publishing Co. $6 net.
Waldstein, C. Patriotism, National and International. Longmans, Green. $1 net.
Ward, A. W. Founders' Day in War-Time. Longmans, Green. 50 cents.
Webb, H. L. The Everlasting Quest. Macmillan. $1.50.
Williams, B. C. A Handbook on Story-Writing. Dodd, Mead. $1.50 net.
Woodbridge, E. Days Out and Other Papers. Houghton Mifflin. $1.25 net.

## RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Churchill, M. T. Spirit Power. Fourth Edition. Dutton. 60 cents net.
Clennell, W. J. The Historical Development of Religion in China. Dutton. $2 net.
Croce, B. Logic as the Science of the Pure Concept. Translated by D. Ainslie. Macmillan. $3.50 net.
Laird, J. Problems of the Self. Macmillan. $3 net.
Mullins, E. Y. The Christian Religion in its Doctrinal Expression. Philadelphia: Roger Williams Press. $2.50.
Rihbany, A. M. Militant America and Jesus Christ. Houghton Mifflin. 65 cents net.
Wilson, R. D. Studies in the Book of Daniel. Putnam. $3.50 net.

## GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMICS

Carpenter, E. Towards Industrial Freedom. Scribner.
Donham, S. A. Marketing and Housework Manual. Little, Brown. $2 net.
Dunbar, C. The Theory and History of Banking. Third edition, revised and enlarged. Putnam. $1.50 net.
Ely, R., Hess, R. H., Leith, C. K., and Carver, T. N. The Foundations of National Prosperity. Macmillan. $2 net.
Farrer, J. A. The Monarchy in Politics. Dodd, Mead. $3 net.
Pike, W. The Barren Ground to Northern Canada. Dutton. $2 net.
Root, E. North Atlantic Coast Fisheries Arbitration at The Hague. Argument on behalf of the U. S. Harvard University Press. $3 net.
Tufts, J. H. Our Democracy. Holt. $1.50 net.

## BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

Chesterton, G. K. A Short History of England. Lane.
Clark, D. E. Samuel Jordan Kirkwood. Iowa Biographical Series. Iowa State Historical Society.
Edward, M. B. Twentieth-Century France. Dutton. $4 net.
Eversley, Lord. The Turkish Empire, Its Growth and Decay. Dodd, Mead. $3 net.
Gwatkin, H. M. Church and State in England to the Death of Queen Anne. Longmans, Green. $5 net.
Harris, H. W. President Wilson from an English Point of View. Stokes. $1.75 net.
Hearnshaw, F. J. C. Main Currents of European History, 1815-1915. Macmillan. $2.50 net.
Holmes, J. H. Life and Letters of Robert Collyer. 2 vols. Dodd, Mead. $5 net.
Leslie, S. The Irish Issue in Its American Aspect. Scribner. $1.25 net.
Lord Acton's Correspondence. Edited by J. N. Figgis and R. V. Laurence. Vol. I. Longmans, Green. $5 net.
Olgin, M. J. The Soul of the Russian Revolution. Holt. $2.50 net.
O'Shaughnessy, E. Diplomatic Days. Harper. $2 net.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# TOPOGRAPHY AND STRATEGY IN THE WAR

*By DOUGLAS W. JOHNSON, Associate Professor of Physiography, Columbia University.*
*With special maps and numerous reproductions from photographs. Just ready. Net, $1.75*

A book for the civilian or the soldier, which through its profusion of special maps and photographs, and its untechnical text by a recognized authority, will give a better idea of the lay of the land in its relation to the war's big campaigns than is available elsewhere. The underlying geographic reasons for the routes of invasion selected by the German armies of the West, for the violation of Belgian neutrality and for the failure of the German armies before Nancy and Verdun, are made clear. The book aims to give the reader a comprehension of the events in the War to date, and to prepare him for a fuller understanding of future campaigns. The various theatres of war are fully covered—Western, Eastern, Balkan, Italian, Roumanian, etc.

HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY, 19 West 44th Street, New York

## St. Nicholas

**His Legend and His Role In the Christmas Celebration and Other Popular Customs**

**By George H. McKnight**

12°. 23 Illustrations. $2.00 net.

The kindly acts recorded of the popular saint have lived in memory and flowered into some of the most generally cherished customs. Probably the life history of no other person, save that of the Founder of Christianity Himself, has been so intimately woven about human custom and human life. Mr. McKnight gives an intimate picture of the life and personality of the saint and has supplied by way of illustration reproductions of a splendid series of pictures by the old masters.

New York **G. P. Putnam's Sons** London

*A Constructive Book*

## TRADE UNIONISM IN THE UNITED STATES

By Robert F. Hoxie

A practical method of dealing with all labor problems according to the actual conditions.

$2.50 *net at all booksellers.*

**This is an Appleton Book**

By EPHRAIM EMERTON

## Beginnings of Modern Europe

A new volume supplementing the author's earlier texts on medieval Europe. The period covered is 1250 to 1450 A. D., the period during which the modern idea of national government was taking form. The study emphasizes the distinctions between medieval and modern ways of thought, the increasing importance of the individual, the growth of a lay culture free from clerical domination, and the rise of national sentiment.

xiv—550 pages, $1.80.

GINN AND COMPANY

BOSTON CHICAGO
NEW YORK LONDON

*READY SOON*

**The Life and Letters of**

## EDWARD EVERETT HALE

BY HIS SON

**Edward E. Hale, Jr.**

In these two volumes Edward Everett Hale, Jr., presents his distinguished father much as he presented himself to his friends. His many activities are carefully set forth, and there are liberal quotations from his more significant writings and speeches.

*With illustrations, 2 vols., in box, $5 net.*

LITTLE, BROWN & COMPANY
PUBLISHERS, BOSTON, MASS.

**THE MASTER OF THE HILL**
A BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN MEIGS.
By W. RUSSELL BOWIE. $3.00
The inspiring life of a famous American schoolmaster, a man of extraordinary power who devoted his life to the making of men.
*DODD, MEAD & COMPANY, NEW YORK*

## Poèmes des Poilus

**(IN FRENCH)**

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

**ROBERT HERRICK**

**Price $1.00**

Published for the benefit of the NEW ENGLAND BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN FUND FOR FRENCH WOUNDED and are for sale at their headquarters

306 BOYLSTON ST., BOSTON,
And
W. A. BUTTERFIELD,
59 Bromfield Street, Boston.

## ENGLISH LITERATURE

AN INTRODUCTION AND GUIDE TO THE BEST ENGLISH BOOKS, A HANDBOOK FOR SCHOOLS AND READERS.
By EDWIN L. MILLER, A.M.
78 unusual illustrations. 597 pages. Map and charts. Large 12mo, $1.60 net.
Literature is nothing, if it is not a living source of inspiration or pleasure,—it cannot be taught as a dead language, or a mathematical formula. With this in mind Professor Miller planned this book.
J. B. LIPPINCOTT CO. Philadelphia

**30 Different Magazines.** LATE ISSUES. VALUE $8.00. YOURS FOR 25c PREPAID. EASTERN BUREAU, NEW EGYPT, N.J.

**THE LAUNCHING OF THE I. W. W.**
BY PAUL F. BRISSENDEN, Ph.D. *Paper, 75 cts.*
Lists of publications in Agricultural Sciences, American Archaeology and Ethnology, Botany, Economics, Education, Engineering, Entomology, Geography, Geology, History, Mathematics, Pathology, Philology, Physiology, Psychology, and Zoology sent upon request.
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY, CAL. 20 MADISON AVE., N. Y.

## Old Boston Taverns

**1634-1800**

DRAKE-WATKINS

37 Illustrations and Maps. Price $1.50
W. A. BUTTERFIELD, 59 Bromfield St., Boston
*Send for illustrated circular*

BINDER FOR THE NATION

To receive the current number in a convenient (temporary) form. Substantially made, bound in cloth, with THE NATION stamped on the side in gold. Holds about one volume. Papers easily and neatly adjusted. Sent, postpaid, on receipt of 75 cents. Address The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York City.

*The NATION is a member of the Audit Bureau of Circulations which regularly audits and attests all figures given.* A.B.C.

## California Farms

**A Small California Farm,** earns more money with less work. Raise the crops you know about—alfalfa, wheat, barley, etc.—also oranges, grapes, olives and figs. Ideal for dairying, pigs and chickens. No cold weather; rich soil; low prices; easy terms; good roads; schools and churches. Enjoy life here. Newcomers welcome. Write for our San Joaquin Valley also Dairying and Poultry Raising Illustrated folders, free. C. L. Seagraves, Industrial Commissioner. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Railway, 1990 Railway Exchange, Chicago.


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Summary of the News

PRESIDENT WILSON, in addressing on Tuesday the second session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, which convened Monday, stated his position on the war in no uncertain terms. "Let there be no misunderstanding," he said. "Our present and immediate task is to win the war, and nothing shall turn us aside from it until it is accomplished. Every power and resource we possess, whether of men, of money, or of materials, is being devoted, and will continue to be devoted, to that purpose until it is achieved. Those who desire to bring peace about before that purpose is achieved, I counsel to carry their advice elsewhere. We will not entertain it." He looked forward to the coming of peace only when the German people had spokesmen whose word could be believed and when those spokesmen were ready in the name of their people "to accept the common judgment of the nations of what shall henceforth be the bases of law and of covenant for the life of the world." Though the President disavowed any desire to see Austria-Hungary dismembered, he recommended that the Congress should immediately declare the United States in a state of war with that country. Recognizing that strict logic would lead to a similar declaration against Turkey and Bulgaria, he did not recommend this because they "do not yet stand in the direct path of our necessary action." The remaining paragraphs of the President's message had to do with legislation with regard to alien enemies, and economic measures designed to render the country more efficient for the war.

THE Inter-Allied War Conference convened in Paris last Saturday after a series of preliminary meetings had taken place, chiefly as a means of eliminating unnecessary confusion and any display of oratory that might have been felt to be due the occasion. The various representatives with their delegates were organized into groups of discussion to consider special problems. A prime question that is being considered, and which is of special interest to Americans, is that of shipping. Fifteen nations assembled for the conference, which was opened by Premier Clemenceau at Versailles. The burden of the work is now proportioned among the various committees of the nations in convention, who will report to their own representatives on the problems assigned to them.

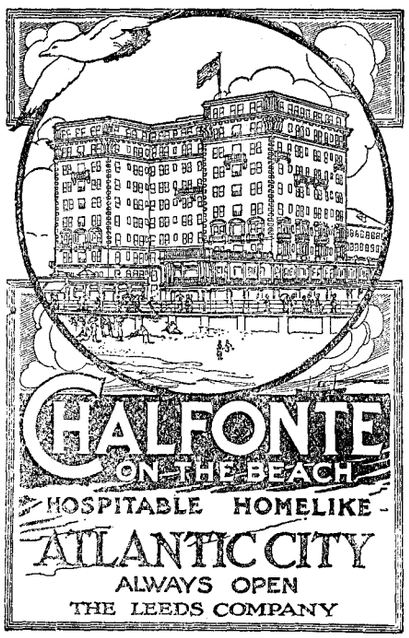
THE chief topic of interest among the Allies is the sensational letter of Lord Lansdowne to a London newspaper, in which he disavowed any desire to enforce upon the Germans a government they did not wish, to deny to Germany a place in international commerce, and expressed a willingness to discuss questions like the "freedom of the seas," and a settlement of international problems by peaceful means. Coming as it did a few days before the meeting of the Inter-Allied Council in Paris, Lord Lansdowne's letter, put forward as his personal views but none the less carrying the prestige of an experienced statesman, has created a sensation in England, where its publication is interpreted as another attack on the Premiership of Lloyd George.

WITH a view to reinforcing American efforts abroad, President Wilson has

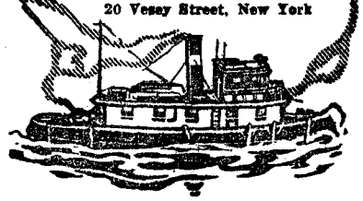
(*Continued on next page.*)

EVERYBODY ELSE
IS READING
**The Shelleys of Georgia**
By
BEATRICE YORK HOUGHTON
WHY DON'T YOU?
At all Bookstores
$1.35

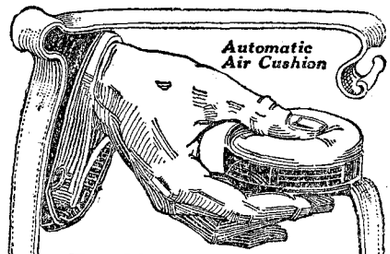
**AMERICAN IDEALS**
EDITED BY
NORMAN FOERSTER and W. W. PIERSON
"Ushered in by Mr. Woodbury's splendid sonnet, 'Our First Century,' these selections from various addresses and state papers dealing with American ideals of government from the point of view of famous statesmen and men of letters, challenge as well as inspire."—*Boston Transcript*. $1.25. Postpaid.
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY, BOSTON




**ADVERTISERS**
If you have any product or service to offer to the shipping trade, you can advertise it most advantageously in
THE NAUTICAL GAZETTE
the recognized weekly journal of ships, shippers and shipbuilding. The great present stimulus to the shipping industry means increased business for advertisers in this high class medium.
Subscription $3.00 a year
20 Vesey Street, New York



**EVERY BOOK**
advertised in this magazine (with possibly a few exceptions) is to be had in this, the
**LARGEST RETAIL BOOK STORE**
on its day of publication
*Prompt attention given mail orders*
**John Wanamaker**
First Floor, Old Building
Broadway at Ninth, New York




**Relief From Rupture**
The Brooks Rupture Appliance has given relief in thousands of cases where other means have failed. Automatic Air Cushion provides firm, yet gentle pressure, and is guaranteed to retain the protrusion at all times. Always covers the ruptured spot. Clings closely, never slips.
**Made to Measure and Sent on Trial**
The Brooks Rupture Appliance is made to your individual measure. Absolute satisfaction is guaranteed. Since we are more of a sanitarium than a factory, particular care is given to your individual case.
You can obtain the Brooks Rupture Appliance on free trial to test its worth. It is sold on a basis of satisfaction guaranteed or money refunded. You are the sole judge of its worth. No need to give us any reason for its return, if you are not satisfied. We make this liberal offer because we know you will bless the day you learned of the Brooks Rupture Appliance. Write for particulars and measure blanks.
BROOKS APPLIANCE COMPANY
Manufacturers of Orthopedical Appliances
491 A State Street
Marshall, Mich.
U. S. A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## A Book of Verse of the Great War

*Edited by W. Reginald Wheeler*

*With a Foreword by Charlton M. Lewis*

In this collection Mr. Wheeler has chosen the verse which is most likely to survive. Nothing that is bitter has found a place. Among the contributors are Wilfrid Wilson Gibson, Maurice Hewlett, Cecil Chesterton, John Galsworthy, W. M. Letts, Edgar Lee Masters, Alfred Noyes, and Rabindranath Tagore. *Cloth,* $2.00 *net.*

## Sea Moods and Other Poems

*By Edward Bliss Reed*

"His verse is simple and direct, laboring neither to suggest the music of the ocean nor its rhythm, yet somehow suggesting vast sweep, its exhilarating freshness, its irresistible lure for them who know it well."—*Pittsburgh Post. Cloth,* $1.00 *net.*

## Beggar and King

*By Richard Butler Glaenzer*

"The first volume of verse by an American poet of rare versatility, whose themes range from lyric poetry to free verse, through many forms, and from the lightest fancy to the most serious mood."—*Boston Transcript. Boards, with Italian handmade paper sides,* $1.00 *net.*

## Tower of Ivory

*By Archibald MacLeish*

Beneath the lilt of these verses the reader will recognize an underlying idea which gives them at once intellectual depth and the inspiration of idealism. *Fabriano boards,* $1.00 *net.*

## A Book of Yale Review Verse

*With a Foreword by the Editors*

Includes poems by John Masefield, Alfred Noyes, Robert Frost, Louis Untermeyer, William Rose Benét, Walter de la Mare, Vachel Lindsay, and Amy Lowell. *Boards, 75 cents net.*

Yale University Press

120 College St., New Haven, Conn. 280 Madison Ave., New York City.


(*Continued from preceding page.*)

appointed a domestic War Council to support the commission under Col. House in Europe. The new Board in Washington will seek to attain a closer coördination in food, fuel, finance, and shipping interests, and six of the members of the Cabinet are included—Messrs. Baker, Daniels, Lane, Houston, Redfield, and W. B. Wilson.

THE Navy Department reports the sinking of the U. S. destroyer Cassin in European waters by a German submarine, with a small loss of life. The submarine activity has once more become significant, the week's toll amounting to fourteen British vessels of 1,600 tons or over, and seven of smaller size. Washington has been impressed by this activity, and a decision has been reached whereby naval reserve officers will be enlisted to provide disciplined crews on American merchantmen to fight the menace. The proposal has the support of Secretaries Daniels and Baker and will be adopted by the Shipping Board.

MEANWHILE the discovery of various enemy activities has led to a systematic control of the waterfront of New York city by the military. Steps have been taken to guard the various piers with barbed wire fences, and none is allowed to approach the dock without a pass indicating the nature of his business, and containing a voucher of his loyalty if he is an alien.

THE War Department has announced the safe arrival in France of the so-called Rainbow Division, which is comprised of representative units from every State in the Union. The troops are now merged with the national army of Gen. Pershing, Guardsmen undergoing their training alongside regulars, while none of the units retain their old regimental and State designations.

FOLLOWING upon the launching of the first steel standardized ship in the programme of the Shipping Board during the past month, a four-thousand-ton wooden ship is now ready for launching at a yard on the Pacific Coast.

AMERICAN engineers, chiefly comprising technical units which were recruited for the purpose of rebuilding railways in France, and of improving rail communications on the western fighting front, have received their unexpected baptism of fire. The men, who were working in the rear of the British advanced front before Cambrai, were encamped with a field hospital unit when the Germans made a surprise attack and temporarily pushed back the British line. The Americans found themselves between the opposing forces when the British reinforcements came up, and took shelter until rescued. So critical was the situation that the engineers armed themselves and helped the British drive back the German attack with a gallantry that has brought them the praise of the British headquarters staff.

THIS surprise attack of the Germans marks one of the most critical periods the British have experienced during the last two years. Resting on the ground captured last week on the Cambrai sector, the British had successfully repulsed a series of counter-attacks, and had consolidated their gains. The most sanguinary fighting had ensued for the possession of Bourlon Wood beyond the village of Masnières, and the British concluded that the German attacks had waned through exhaustion. Suddenly, however, last Saturday a great German offensive was launched in two directions, one on the Bourlon Wood sector on the British western flank, and another on the eastern flank in the direction of Gonnelieu and Villers-Guislain, both with a view to turning the British position and recovering the wide sector won during the past week. With reckless courage the Germans attacked in massed formation, and the British artillery took heavy toll. The attack on the right flank succeeded, and temporarily the British line was endangered. As it is, Berlin claims the capture of 6,000 prisoners with 100 guns. The British finally drove the enemy back, and the battle is still proceeding. The development of fighting in the open, inaugurated by the success of the British attack of last week, may now be counted on to provide elements of surprise and will call for consummate generalship on both sides.

FROM the Italian front there is little to report, now that the Teutonic attacks have spent themselves in vain on a stiffened Italian defence. French and British forces have arrived, and are now helping to defend the line. From the Asiago Plateau to the lower Piave intense artillery duels are being waged, and on the Piave triangle the Teutonic infantry are continuing local attacks for points of vantage in the inundated sector. On Monte Pertica the Italians were forced to withdraw after a successful attack. With the approach of winter a cessation of fighting in the mountains is predicted. The Teutonic forces are reported to be carefully intrenching along the Tagliamento, making this line their main defence. On the Piave the Italians have consolidated their position, this river constituting the main Italian defence.

AT the last session of the Reichstag a war credit of fifteen billion marks passed the chamber, with the Socialists constituting the only opposition. At a committee meeting the Foreign Minister, Dr. von Kühlmann, has denied that Germany expects huge demands in a peace conference, and has charged the Allied nations as being under the rule of dictators.

THIS speech of the Foreign Secretary touching German peace demands was inspired by the interesting status that has developed between the Leninist, or Bolshevik, party in Petrograd and the German Foreign Office. The latter has accepted the offer of the Bolshevik party to negotiate an armistice. Already representatives from Petrograd are in conference at German army headquarters on the Russian front, and Petrograd and Berlin are in direct wireless communication. Meanwhile, the Bolshevik armistice proposals have been condemned by the Allied representatives in Petrograd. The Bolshevik Foreign Minister, Trotzky, continues the publication of all secret treaties concluded by the deposed government with the Allied nations. The permanency of the present régime in Russia is apparently still an open question. The Cossacks under Gen. Kaledines, and the army still at the front under Gen. Dukhonin, are both in disagreement with the Bolshevik policy. Siberia, the Cossack territories, Ukrainia, and various other regions in the empire have declared their independence and autonomy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED